Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-93-043
Monday
8 March 1993

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FBIS-EEU-93-043 *8 March 1993*

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Karadzic Rejects Maps, Declares Round of Talks Over

LD0703015393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2315 GMT 6 Mar 93

[Excerpt] New York, 6 Mar (TANJUG)—The leader of Bosnian Serbs, Radovan Karadzic, stated on Saturday [6 March] that the second round of the New York peace negotiations on Bosnia was over and that his delegation is going home without signing Bosnia-Hercegovina's provincial maps.

"We made our proposal, which was not accepted by the Muslim and the Croat side, but we still think it was the best way to solve this crisis," Karadzic said clearly of his proposal to immediately accept the undisputed part of the maps and to put the disputed territories under UN control.

"I think that the second round of negotiations is over. We are going back home, we will think everything over again and we will let the Serb nation's assembly decide." [passage omitted]

Izetbegovic Signature Uncertain

LD0603194793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1858 GMT 6 Mar 93

[Text] New York, 6 Mar (TANJUG)—Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic declined to answer during his meeting with the Geneva conference cochairmen at the U.N. headquarters on Saturday [6 March] whether he will sign an agreement on the maps proposed for Bosnia-Hercegovina's division into provinces. "We are here and as you can see we are continuing negotiations." Izetbegovic told reporters.

Izetbegovic's representative at the U.N. Muhamed Sacirbey said "we have democracy and the president cannot make decisions independently from competent bodies in Sarajevo."

The NEW YORK TIMES recently quoted a senior official of the "competent body" in Sarajevo as saying that he who signs the Geneva papers will not be only politically dead.

Sacirbey said in New York of Saturday he did not believe Izetbegovic would sign the agreement.

There are spculations at the U.N. headquarters about why has Izetbegovic made Vance and Owen come for a meeting to his hotel in [word indistinct] he had suddenly fallen ill and then recovered within only three hours. Izetbegovic has most probably counted on the statement by U.S. President Bill Clinton, indicating tighter sanctions against Serbia.

The two cochairmen will on Saturday hold a joint meeting with the Muslim and Croat delegation and meet separately with the Serbs.

Prospects of Peace Discussed

AU0503182293 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 5 Mar 93

[Report by Slobodan Jankovic from New York]

[Text] Is there a successful ending of the peace negotiations on Bosnia in the offing, with the signing of all three documents of the Vance-Owen plan? It seems that, with all due caution, this is possible today. Preparations for this were made late last night when negotiators first met with Radovan Karadzic and with Alija Izetbegovic and Mate Boban, later in the day. This was a chain negotiating process with some unforeseeable turns. The Serbian delegation proposed at the meeting with Butrus-Ghali, Cyrus Vance, and David Owen that the three warring sides should accept an amended paper on the territorial division of Bosnia, according to which 80 percent of the territories, which are undisputed, would be signed immediately, and the fifth of territories, which are disputed, would be controlled by UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] until a final solution is reached. At the first, this proposal by Bosnian Serbs left the international mediators uninterested, Radovan Karadzic told us:

[Begin Karadzic recording] We have made yet another new compromise. I think that it is a great and significant breakthrough at the conference, although, for the time being, the cochairmen are now rejecting this idea. However, if the international community wants to stop the war, here is an opportunity for the war to end. This is a good plan. It is completely and equally (?just) for everybody. [end recording]

However, several hours later, this compromise proposal by the Serbian side was introduced into the procedure. For the second time in the day, Izetbegovic and Boban were summoned [word indistinct]. It seemed that the peacemaking action, which began in Lisbon at the end of last April and continued in London and Geneva, is entering its final (?stage) in New York now.

This is how Mate Boban, leader of the Bosnian Croats, was evaluating the situation (?later) last night:

[Begin Boban recording] It is my deep conviction that we have come very close to a signing. [end recording]

Alija Izetbegovic first gave up his insistence on the constitutional questions of setting up some future Bosnia and joined the debate about the maps. It is said that he first had a meeting with American mediator Reginald Bartholomew.

Leaving the UN building last night, the two cochairmen were not concealing their pleasure over what has been achieved and the hope that today they will realize the desired aim: To put together the complicated jigsaw puzzle of the peace plan for Bosnia.

We asked Lord Owen if the signing of the remaining documents from the package is a fait accompli.

[Begin Owen recording with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] Let us leave that assessment to them and let us leave all that for tomorrow. We have made progress, there is no doubt about that. It is now for them to make the decision. [end recording]

However, Lord Owen then told the journalists that the old map proposal the cochairmen had offered the warring sides here in New York three weeks ago is still on the table. He did not mention a single word about the Serbian proposal.

Cyrus Vance was not particularly talkative. One could rather say that, taught by earlier experience, he was cautious last night.

[Begin Vance recording in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] I am hopeful, I do not like to say whether I am optimistic or not. [end recording]

The reserve on the part of the two cochairmen is to be understood. For six months already they have been holding these negotiations walking the thorny path toward peace. Perhaps things will start moving in the desired direction in New York today with the consent of all three warring sides in Bosnia.

Izetbegovic Agreement Expected

LD0503202693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1927 GMT 5 Mar 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] New York, March 5 (TANJUG)—The second round of negotiations on ending the nearly year-long war in Bosnia-Hercegovina between local Moslems, Serbs and Croats, are expected to end on Friday [5 March] evening in the United Nations Headquarters with eight signatures on three documents of the peace plan.

According to these forecasts, only one will be missing—that of the Serbian delegation, on the agreement on the division of the provinces in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

This is the way matters stood on Friday afternoon, according to general belief at the end of the last day of the second round of New York negotiations.

International mediators in the negotiations Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen were diplomatically cautious on Thursday evening, as if Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic had already promised them he would sign the agreement on the map of the provinces, the only Geneva document that he has so far avoided signing.

At the same time, the Serbian delegation persisted in its stand it could not sign the document unless an agreement was reached to place the disputed territories (20-30 percent) under United Nations protection for some.

The maps envisage the division of Bosnia-Hercegovina into 10 autonomous provinces—four provinces with a Serbian majority, three with a Moslem majority and two with a Croatian majority, while one province would be Moslem-Croatian.

Some analysts at the UN headquarters believe Vance and Lord Owen aspire to an outcome whereby the Serbian side would be the only obstacle to the concluding of the Geneva peace agreement.

This vision is in keeping with Vance's and Owen's negotiating strategy, as described rather openly on Thursday by [word indistinct] official of the mediating team. According to the official, Vance and Owen's idea was to offer territorial gains to the [words indistinct].

Cochairmen Try To Persuade Karadzic

LD0603112393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1058 GMT 6 Mar 93

[Text] New York, March 6 (TANJUG)—International negotiators Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen will try once more to persuade Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic and Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic to agree to the controversial maps on the division of Bosnia-Hercegovina into semiautonomous provinces at the United Nations (U.N.) headquarters in New York on Saturday [6 March].

Izetbegovic changed his mind about signing the maps on Friday after everyone expected that he would do so, while Karadzic maintains that the proposed maps are unacceptable to the Serb people in Bosnia.

Izetbegovic agreed to remain at the peace talks, whose Saturday round was scheduled for 10:00 hrs local time.

Karadzic was not in contact with the two cochairmen on Friday, but he met with Russian envoy to the talks Vitaliy Churkin to discuss the proposal that the indisputable part of the Bosnian maps be immediately accepted and that the controversial territories be placed under U.N. protection.

Vance and Owen have so far rejected Karadzic's proposal as non-functional, but Fred Eckhardt, the cochairmen's spokesman, indicated to the press that the proposal has not been definitely rejected.

The two cochairmen would not say what the stumbling block in the talks with Izetbegovic was because he had seemed ready to accept the maps on Thursday evening, as Eckhardt said.

Some of the many reporters at the U.N. headquarters believe that Izetbegovic's refusal could have been triggered by the statement by U.S. President Bill Clinton in Washington on Friday when he indicated the possibility that the sanctions against Yugoslavia be tightened because of the situtions in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Izetbegovic has so far tried in every way to draw the U.S. into the war in Bosnia and many here believe that he has now found a reason for further stalling in Clinton's statement.

Izetbegovic-Karadzic Talks Continue

AU0603153393 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Mar 93

[Report by Slobodan Jankovic from New York]

[Text] Instead of ending in New York last night, the second round of negotiations is continuing today with fresh meetings and talks. Cyrus Vance and David Owen will try to secure the agreement on the maps that have been offered, first from Izetbegovic [Bosnian president], and then from Karadzic [Serbian republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina president].

Cochairmen Vance and Owen last night spent more than three hours in the talk with the leader of the Bosnian Muslims discussing that issue. The meeting was held in a hotel, because Alija Izetbegovic previously informed them that he was ill. Returning from the talks in the UN headquarters, the cochairmen only told reporters that the talks with Izetbegovic will continue today. This meeting will begin at 1600 Yugoslav time. Vance and Owen expect this talk to mark the final result.

Holding the view that they can convince the leader of the Muslims more easily than Radovan Karadzic, they left the latter for last. Last night they contacted him via telephone, after they held talks with Izetbegovic, to brief him on the progress of the talks.

Radovan Karadzic will be the last leader of one of the warring sides from Bosnia with whom Vance and Owen plan to discuss maps. However, it is already clear now that, due to their own fault, this will be the hardest nut to crack. The cochairmen flatly rejected the map proposed by the Serbian side and are now trying to impose their own map, which remains unacceptable for the Serbs.

In addition, official Washington announced last night further tightening of the sanctions against Serbia, because of the situation in Bosnia. Commenting on President Clinton's warning, Radovan Karadzic, in a statement for TANJUG, reacted sharply, saying that if new sanctions were introduced, his delegation would leave the peace talks and seek full independence for Serbs in Bosnia from the international community.

The peace talks in New York continue today, but there are no predictions on how they may end. So far, many expectations turned out to be disappointments.

Clinton To Announce Tighter Sanctions Against FRY

LD0503215793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2113 GMT 5 Mar 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Washington, March 5 (TANJUG)—U.S. President Bill Clinton said on Friday [5 March] the United States would soon announce new measures to tighten the embargo against Serbia.

Speaking at an impromptu news conference at the White House, Clinton said that apart from the embargo, the U.S. Administration could opt also for other measures. However, he declined to specify.

Clinton ruled out the possibility of a direct engagement of U.S. ground troops in Yugoslavia, saying the U.S. Administration was bearing in mind two constraints when its policy on the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, especially in Bosnia-Hercegovina, is concerned.

He said the White House would continue to coordinate its actions with the European allies which, he said, had been reluctant to take a more active role because of the fear for the safety of their ground troops in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

He also said that any radical confrontation in the region could endanger cooperation with Russia because of the political situation in that country and the problems resulting from Russia's historical ties with Serbia.

"We want to find ways to tighten the embargo and we are moving on it right now, even as we speak," said Clinton, adding that the U.S. Administration was looking for other options which could be taken into consideration.

Clinton said the United States cannot act unilaterally, [word indistinct] should cooperate with its European allies which were closer to the 59 scene of the conflict" [words indistinct].

He said the U.S. would not allow the practice of ethnic cleansing adding that there were signs of progress in the peace talks. It will be interesting to see whether the Serbs want and to what extent are they ready to compromise for a peaceful solution of the conflict, the U.S. President added.

Karadzic Criticizes Sanctions Decision

LD0603045193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0112 GMT 6 Mar 93

[Text] New York, March 5 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said on Friday [5 March] he would not tolerate a possible imposition of new sanctions on Yugoslavia because of the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina in which case he would no longer attend the peace talks. "We were excluded from Yugoslavia by force and against our will. What is happening now in Bosnia has nothing to do with Serbia and Yugoslavia," Karadzic told TANJUG. Commenting on a statement by U.S. President Bill Clinton on Friday, indicating tighter sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro because of the situation in Bosnia, Karadzic said that "there would be no more talks if new sanctions were imposed on Yugoslavia. In that case, we will leave the peace talks and demand full independence for the Serbs in Bosnia." Karadzic on Friday met with Vitaliy Churkin, Russia's envoy at the New York peace talks, and informed him about his views on the disputable and undisputable

sections of the maps for Bosnia's territorial division. He said he would remain in New York "in the interest of the talks."

TANJUG: Clinton Announcement 'Undermined' Vance, Owen

LD0603130093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1239 GMT 6 Mar 93

[Text] New York, March 6 (TANJUG)—U.S. President Bill Clinton's announcement on Friday [5 March] that the United States and its Western allies were planning to tighten U.N. sanctions against the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia came when international mediators Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen were just a step away from obtaining Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic's signature for their plan to divide Bosnia-Hercegovina into ten provinces.

Immediately after the announcement, Izetbegovic suddenly fell "ill" and failed to arrive for a morning meeting with Vance and Owen, after which the cochairmen of the international conference on the former Yugoslavia went to his hotel and negotiated there for three and a half hours.

Meanwhile, a crowd of reporters was waiting outside U.N. Headquarters for Vance and Owen to return with Izetbegovic's signature. When they appeared, however, defeat was written all over their faces.

"He did not sign," said Lord Owen who had to postpone a trip to Europe because of Izetbegovic's refusal to sign the document. The mediator is scheduled to brief European Community members in Brussels on Monday about the progress made at the New York talks.

We had a lengthy conversation, but he is still pondering over everything that has been said, Lord Owen explained.

Vance said that the door had not been closed yet and that Izetbegovic had not left New York as planned.

Over the past few weeks, Vance and Owen have said on several occasions that Izetbegovic would have signed their peace package in January in Geneva had the White House supported it and had the Muslim leader not waited for a U.S. intervention.

Izetbegovic returned to the conference table only after the U.S. Administration backed the Vance-Owen plan. Many analysts here argue that Clinton has again undermined Vance and Owen's efforts.

A diplomat close to Vance and Owen told TANJUG this was not Clinton's intention. The announcement came as the result of increased media pressure on the president, he added.

A U.S. veteran reporter believes, however, that Clinton had a very good reason to make the announcement on Friday. He is exposed to the same pressure as Bush before the Desert Storm operation... everybody is asking him about his election promises and it is not easy to sustain the pressure from the media and various interest groups, she said.

Leaving aside the fact that Vance and Owen also need the signature of Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, who said that he could not accept the proposed maps because they were against the interests of the Serb people in Bosnia, many analysts believe that Vance and Owen might have persuaded Izetbegovic had it not been for Clinton's statement.

It is therefore quite possible that if Izetbegovic ever expresses willingness to sign the document, the news about it would first come from Washington and not from New York.

Karadzic Denies Threatening U.S

LD0503022693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0031 GMT 5 Mar 93

[Text] New York, March 4 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said in the U.N. Headquarters in New York Thursday [4 March] he did not threaten anyone and had the least to threaten the United States [sentence as received].

At a news conference in New York, Karadzic explained his statement about the recent explosion in the New York World Trade Center by saying his intention had not been to threaten the United States, as had been interpreted.

Karadzic retracted his statement in the 'Open Letter to the American People' on the explosion in Manhattan several days ago ('The tragic and deplorable terrorist incident at the World Trade Center is fresh testimony to the extraordinary volatility and immediate dangers of direct foreign involvement.')

At the peace talks on Bosnia-Hercegovina in New York, Karadzic said an 'unfortunate translation' had changed the meaning of what had been meant. He recalled that Serbs did not have a tradition of that kind of struggle, regardless of their opponent.

Even fierce Serbian anticommunists did not use it in the previous decades. Serbs have no secret organizations, and they never planted bombs at random in public places, Karadzic said.

White House spokesman George Stephanopoulos said Thursday the U.S. Administration had sent its sharp view to Karadzic concerning his letter to THE NEW YORK TIMES in which he said the United States might face terrorist attacks because of its direct involvement in the clash in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Stephanopoulos refused to elaborate on the contents of the U.S. message.

U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali protested Karadzic's remark at a meeting in New York Thursday.

Negotiations on Camp Closures in Bosnia Deadlocked

LD0403193393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1750 GMT 5 Mar 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Geneva, March 5 (TANJUG)—The Serbian republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina delegation refused to negotiate with Moslem and Croatian representatives on Friday [5 March] in Geneva on the closing of camps in the war-torn former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, under the conditions being made.

During negotiations at the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), the Moslem side demanded that the exchange of pows is not carried out according to the 'all for all' principle, but asked for 130 Moslems in exchange for one Serb pow.

Head of the Bosnian Serb delegation and Serbian republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina Health Minister Dragan Kalinic, said Bosnian Moslem and Bosnian Croat representatives accused the Serbian side of having 164 camps on its territory, even though the ICRC had registered eight.

"They went further in their accusations, claiming that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia had 14 camps, and the Republic of Serbian Krajina (an area of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia under U.N. protection) two, and that as many as 130,000 prisoners are held there," said Kalinic.

Bosnian Serb rep.esentatives have not definitely left the negotiations.

According to Kalinic, the Bosnian Serbs are prepared to continue negotiations if three of their demands are met: That all the camps are closed unconditionally according to the ICRC proposal; that the inhabitants of besieged cities, Sarajevo in particular, be surveyed to see if they are prepared to leave of their own free will; and finally, that war criminals are not freed and that international organizations are allowed access to their files.

The Bosnian Serb authorities have, so far, unilaterally freed around 5,000 captured Moslems and Croats, while the other side has freed only 400 Serbs.

Mazowiecki on Human Rights Violations in Bosnia

LD0803101893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0952 GMT 8 Mar 93

[By Vjekoslav Radovic]

[Text] New York, March 8 (TANJUG)—Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the U.N. Human Rights Commission special rapporteur, on Sunday [7 March] submitted his fourth report to the U.N. General Assembly in which he, once again, blamed the Serbs as being the most responsible for the hardships in the war-torn former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

"Mass violations of human rights and international law in Bosnia-Hercegovina are consciously used as a means to achieve ethnically homogenous regions," the former Polish prime minister said in his 80-page report.

Clearly alluding to "Serbian ethnic cleansing", Mazowiecki mentions alleged tortures, abuses, killings, expulsions, confiscation of property, sacking from work, besieging of cities, refusal to enable food deliveries to the civilian population, demolition of mosques, etc. most of these crimes are openly or implicitly ascribed to Serbs. There is not a single word about the destroyed Serbian churches in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina or the fate of Serbs.

Of the sufferings of Serbs, Mazowiecki mentions the massacre in Bratunac, eastern Bosnia, where he said 100 people were killed and 320 wounded.

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has files on 10,800 Serbian POWs [prisoners of war] in over 50 camps in Bosnia-Hercegovina in the July-December period last year, the report said.

Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina late last year shut down several camps, including the biggest one Manjaca, releasing over 5,000 POWs, the Moslems and Croats did not abide by the agreement made with the ICRC.

According to Mazowiecki's report, Serbs are still holding 1,333 pows in five camps, Moslems 883 and Bosnian Croats 547.

Mazowiecki and his associates noted 119 rape-related pregnancies in hospitals in Zagreb, Sarajevo, Zenica and Belgrade in 1992.

On the situation in Croatia, the report mentions arson and demolition of Serbian houses in Dubrovnik or expulsion of their owners. Many Serbs are also complaining about difficulties in obtaining Croatian citizenship, while ethnic cleansing is not mentioned.

The report does mention ethnic cleansing but in Sector South, a United Nations protected area of Kninska Krajina. It says that the "authorities of the self-proclaimed Republic of Serb Krajina are rigorously pursuing the policy of ethnic cleansing."

Over 40 pages of the report are devoted to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, noting that there is a "large gap between legal regulations and norms and their implementation."

There were grave shortcomings at the December elections, the report said. "The election campaign was

tainted by shameless propaganda in the state-controlled media, particularly television which solely supported the ruling party and ignored or distorted the messages of the opposition," it said.

The report goes on to say that the sacking of ethnic Albanians in the southern Serbian province of Kosovo continued in the socially-owned sector, as well as police violence, control of the media and problems with education.

Mazowiecki recalled his earlier report which said that many Moslems in Sandzak were victims of "terrorist acts by Serbian paramilitary forces and extremists whose objective was to intimidate them and force them to leave the region."

As far as Serbia's northern province of Vojvodina was concerned, Mazowiecki said that a "significant number of ethnic Hungarians have left the province, mainly because of a prevailing atmosphere of fear and insecurity since the loss of autonomy and the strengthening of the Serbian authority." Not a single case which would corroborate what is set out in the report is mentioned.

31 UNPROFOR Soldiers Killed So Far in War

LD0503204393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2014 GMT 5 Mar 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, March 5 (TANJUG)—Thirty-one soldiers of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) have been killed so far in the territory of former Yugoslavia, while 373 troops have been injured, UNPROFOR Director of Civil Affairs Cedric Thornberry told a news conference in Belgrade on Friday [5 March].

Thornberry assessed the UNPROFOR mission as the most dangerous mission that the United Nations has ever had. Swedish General Lars-Eric Wahlgren, the new commander of U.N. Protection Force who took over the duty after Gen. Satish Nambiar's withdrawal last week, was introduced to the reporters.

Thornberry also said that there were over 25,000 UNPROFOR members in the territory of former Yugoslavia. Asked whether it was about time for UNPROFOR to have its mandate changed to include peacemaking, Thornberry said that political decisions by the governments of those countries who sent their troops to the mission was necessary. Thornberry said that he did not believe there were many governments that would want bodies of their soldiers killed in Croatia to arrive home.

Thornberry said that instead of underlining the need for the use of force, it is necessary to urge negotiations, which are the essence of the peace plan drafted by U.N. secretary-general's special envoy Cyrus Vance.

Gen. Wahlgren hoped that UNPROFOR would get support from all conflicting sides and the local population in the territory of former Yugoslavia, which is necessary for the success of the peacekeeping operation. Gen. Wahlgren also said that the idea behind the proposal to allow UNPROFOR troops to use heavy artillery is not to actually use it but to let them demonstrate force, which could help reduce the number of UNPROFOR casualties.

Gen. Wahlgren said he hoped UNPROFOR would achieve good results, like the U.N. peace missions in which he had participated (Sinai and Lebanon) did.

EBRD President Assesses War in ex-Yugoslavia

BR0503160993 Brussels LE SOIR in French 2 Mar 93 p 2

[Interview with Jacques Attali, president of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, by Marc Rozen; date and place not given: "Jacques Attali on His Recent Trip to Three Republics In the Former Yugoslavia"]

[Text] [Rozen] You are president of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD] and recently made your first official visit to three countries in the former Yugoslavia: Slovenia, Croatia, and Macedonia. How do you assess the situation there?

[Attali] It is much like other places and, at the same time, much different. Like other places, because there are several countries with traditional needs: for example, the need to set up democratic institutions and a market economy; train executives; finance the development of road, rail, and hospital infrastructures; create the banking structures required for the development of small and medium-sized enterprises; and finance joint ventures with foreign companies. Of course, there are also more specific aspects: There is a war on and if we are to get them to accept a peace plan, we must be prepared—when the time comes—to finance the reconstruction of these countries and show them that peace can be beneficial.

[Rozen] How do you see these countries developing?

[Attali] Slovenia is making very quick progress. It is protected from the war, and it has a good administration and a stable government. Its standard of living is very close to that of West Europe. Indeed, the EC absorbs two-thirds of its exports. Croatia, however, still has a wartime economy. We must therefore define a strategy together to prepare the financing during peacetime. This financing will be primarily directed at tourism, which will need a great deal of rehabilitation after the ravages of war, and banking, because there are no stable private banks necessary to develop industries and enable the repatriation of capital abroad. Macedonia, on the other hand, has a relatively high standard of living. It suffers, however, from a dearth of institutions. Since it has never really been a country, it has to build all its institutions—

parliamentary, administrative, and financial. Investments will come later. Bosnia? Its enemies are currently destroying it faster than we can draft a reconstruction program.

[Rozen] What about Serbia?

[Attali] I did not go to Serbia because I was anxious to support countries which practice peace and democracy, and which encourage a market economy, even though I know that in these countries too some people are violating human rights. Serbia is currently a military state for whom conquest has become a means of foreign policy. Therefore, it has excluded itself from the international community.

[Rozen] Which country has the best chances?

[Attali] I do not want to rank them. I think that all countries have opportunities, advantages, and benefits which differ from one country to the next. The great wealth of East Europe lies in this fantastic diversity, which ensures that no person is better than any other. However, everyone must add to their differences. We would also like to do something very important, i.e., finance all the systems that will link these countries to each other and their neighbors so that later all these borders will become meaningless.

[Rozen] Doesn't the war make what you are doing impossible?

[Attali] We must prepare for peace and make it possible by showing that reason is more successful than violence. We must move from a world bent on revenge to a world based on deterrence. After all, this was how we made war disappear in Europe. We must lay the groundwork for this in the former Yugoslavia, even if Balkan culture—like the culture of Greek mythology—is largely based on a culture of reprisals, a culture which Rene Girard [French essayist] calls mimetic or reciprocal violence. In other civilizations, this violence has been channeled into nonviolence. This will also happen in the former Yugoslavia. It has not yet happened because these countries, which are the cradle of European civilization, have suffered for so long under the crushing weight of dictatorships and empires that they have been unable to build on their differences. Currently, they are differentiating themselves by excluding others instead of enriching themselves.

[Rozen] Aren't these countries putting too much hope ir receiving aid from the West?

[Attali] That is true. We must be clear here. The worst thing we could do would be to deceive these peoples by letting them believe in something we cannot do. They are all asking for a lot of money, but we have explained to them that this money would be wasted if it were not part of well executed projects. The EBRD is not suffering from a lack of money. We have plenty of money. We can invest more, but if they think that we can spend this money lavishly then they are deceiving themselves as to the meaning of a modern economy and the controls required to prevent waste.

[Rozen] What conditions do you place on your loans?

[Attali] Rates equal market rates, although sometimes with more advantageous conditions—especially for public investments and as to loan terms which no private lender would accept. We should also mention the technical assistance provided prior to the project.

[Rozen] How did you settle the delicate question of the name of Macedonia?

[Attali] Our highly original solution was to accept the former Republic of Macedonia into the EBRD without settling the issue of its name. It is not recognized by the EBRD member countries. We used the name that it used to have. We know that it will remain a temporary name until the United Nations decides on a definitive name. Currently, the president of Macedonia does not want this name, whereas Greece rejects the name Macedonia. Indeed, progress has already been made, since everyone has agreed to include the word "Macedonia" in the name. Surely, the diplomats will come up with a solution.

[Rozen] How do you see these countries developing over the coming years?

[Attali] That depends on the war and on a general awareness that the barbarity and the aggression by the barbarians must stop. Those who committed atrocities must be made to pay. To this end, we must set up a war crimes tribunal, so that everyone who has similar ideas in other countries will realize that they will be punished.

[Rozen] Did the people you met speak more about peace than war?

[Attali] Everyone I met had an unshakable desire for peace. However, I am not in charge of peace negotiations. I am simply here to say that resources will be available to finance reconstruction when peace comes.

Belgian Airbus Stops in Belgrade After Bomb Scare

LD0703210993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2024 GMT 7 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, March 7 (TANJUG)—The Belgian Sabena airbus 310, which had to land at Belgrade on Sunday [7 March] for fear of a planted bomb, resumed its flight to Tel Aviv at 1830 GMT on Sunday, it was confirmed to TANJUG by the airport flight control.

The plane and cargo were closely examined in the afternoon by Yugoslav experts and no bomb or explosive was found.

The plane was on its Brussels-Tel Aviv flight with 139 passengers and 11 crew on board. It landed in Belgrade when the crew received a tip that a bomb was planted. While in Belgrade, the plane passengers were accommodated at the Belgrade airport building.

Rugova Briefs Party Leaders on Peace Plan

AU0603145493 Tirana ATA in English 0939 GMT 6 Mar 93

[Text] Tirana, March 6 (ATA)—On February 5, the President of the Republic of Kosovo Dr. Ibrahim Rugova [Kosovo Albanian leader] met with representatives of the Albanian political parties in Tirana. He familiarized them with the 10 point peace plan to solve the Kosovar problem.

Meets With President Berisha

AU0603164093 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 6 Mar 93

[Text] President Berisha met with President Rugova at the Presidency Seat this morning on the situation in Albania and in the region. Both presidents assessed that the situation in Kosovo is very critical. The terror and the violence of the Serbian occupiers continues against the unprotected population. The silent ethnic cleansing continues, and the social situation is very grave.

They greeted President Clinton's statement, which is a serious warning against a Serbian massacre in Kosovo. They stressed that to prevent the conflict there, it is necessary to place Kosovo under UN or NATO surveillance, establish state and democratic institutions, open the schools at all levels, legalize and enable the supply of humanitarian aid to Kosovo, and establish dialogue among all Albanian and non-Albanian political forces in Kosovo to increase the level of understanding among the people.

President Rugova highly assessed the course of the reform in Albania. He said that Albania's fulfillment of the IMF conditions, the strengthening of privatization, and other changes performed show that the Meksi government is determined to continue on the road of reform.

Berisha Supports Meksi at News Conference

AU0503214893 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 5 Mar 93

[Arben Karapici report]

[Text] President of the Republic Sali Berisha considered the requests by the opposition for the Meksi government to resign to be destructive. Meanwhile, he expressed his support for the democratic government and assessed the efforts this government has performed so far to carry out the economic, political, and administrative reform.

Addressing the reporters present at the Presidency Seat today, Berisha turned on the opposition when he said that to request the government to resign without giving arguments for this request means to lose the confidence of the electorate that has given its votes to you. The president stated that, nevertheless, the opposition should be respected. Considering its critics, we should assess only what is rational. Looking at reality through dark glasses does not serve democracy.

The president mentioned the difficult conditions under which the Meksi government took over the country's management. This is a government of reforms, and for the sake of a better future, has undertaken the risks by facing also the pressures coming from the dissatisfaction and pains that this reform is causing. Mr. Sali Berisha considered the present government as a government that is uprooting the economic and political bunkers of Albania at home and abroad. This government chose this courageous road because it was strongly supported by the courage of our people to go forward along the road of the reform.

During the press conference, the president answered many questions by reporters.

Discusses Government Concerns

AU0603165993 Tirana ATA in English 0928 GMT 6 Mar 93

["From the Press Conference of President Sali Berisha"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, March 6 (ATA)—It is some days now that the Meksi administration is the target of severe attacks and criticism by the opposition, which in some cases also demanded the resignation of the government. President Berisha declared at the press conference held on February 5 his full support for the government and called the request for its resignation paradoxal. He said that it is the rule of democracy that the minority observe the will of the majority. Mentioning on this occasion some of the main achievements of the Meksi administration on the road to the reforms, Mr. Berisha considered the requests of the opposition destructive. I support the Meksi administration, because it enjoys the strong support of the international organizations and brought the country out of chaos and wave of destructions, said President Berisha. He said that the signing of the second agreement with IMF is a success of this government.

Concerning his views in regard to the opposition, Mr. Berisha valued it as a necessity to democracy and called on the powerholders to observe the opposition and its criticism, because the government cannot do everything perfectly, for the reform goes through pain and sacrifices. President Berisha deemed a necessity the continuation of the reform. Mr. Berisha said that it is the merit of the Meksi administration to make the choice, the reform or populism. It chose the reform which is the most difficult but the best way.

President Berisha mentioned the successes in agriculture, lowering of inflation to 3.5 percent, and the stop of the fall of industrial production.

In regard to the foreign policy, President Berisha said that the policy followed by the Meksi administration is an open policy and has yielded a lot of results.

President Berisha considered the possible conflict in the Balkans impossible because, as he stated, there can be no conflict among the democratic countries. President Berisha considered the exchange of visits of the Balkan leaders recently as an attempt to prevent the extension of the conflict to the south of Yugoslavia and the statement of U.S. President Clinton as reconfirmation of the previous statement made by George Bush. He considered right the White House decision for parachuting the aid in the conflict-ridden area. He said that this was another hope to prevent the extension of the conflict in the south, considering in this regard Kosovo, too. Mr. Berisha appreciated the letter from W. Christopher as a guarantee to continue the good relations between Albania and the U.S.A. in the future and a support of the U.S. administration to the program of democratic reforms launched by the Meksi administration and the Albanian cause in general.

Asked by a reporter on Albania's relations with NATO in the event of its intervention in the conflict, Mr. Berisha said: We have long ago demanded Albania's membership to the NATO and considered the ongoing cooperation with this strong peacekeeping organization very fruitful and hopeful. In such a case Albania will act in keeping with the international rules as all the other members.

President Berisha considered the present political situation in the region as hopeful to settle the disagreements and this will influence the detente. In this regard he mentioned the dialogue between the Albanians of Macedonia and non Albanians and the dialogue between Greece, Macedonia, and the other countries concerned with peace in the Balkans. In regard to the relations between Albania and Greece, President Berisha said that they will keep improving and the upcoming visit of Premier Meksi to Greece will intend not only at eliminating the problems of the Albanian economic emigrants in Greece, but also the possibilities of these two countries to lower tension in the region. President Berisha considered the difficulties facing Albania temporary and said that we are grateful to our neighbours for the aid they have given us at such hard times.

In regard to the scandal declared recently, ex-premier Vilson Ahmeti was detained. According to reports from the Investigation Office, another one may be detained. President Berisha called this a gangrene inherited from the previous governments. The fight against it will intensify following the decree for the verification of assets to be issued by President Berisha. He said that this decree will be implemented and will be supported by a law to be issued by the parliament. In this regard he said that the government should have done a better work. Concerning the issue of gold, he said it is rather complicated one and will be solved together with other issues for which responsibility rests on the blockmen. Despite such difficulties, the reform will forge ahead. In regard to the work of the organs of justice, President Berisha said that although these organs have worked under difficult conditions they have kept improving it. On this occasion he mentioned perceptible reduction of criminality in Albania.

Deputies Discuss Bill on Fiscal System

AU0503204893 Tirana ATA in English 1109 GMT 5 Mar 93

[Text] Tirana, March 5 (ATA)—Yesterday afternoon, the People's Assembly examined the last draft law of the law package on the fiscal system, that on administrating duties and taxes in the Republic of Albania. The changes to this draft law intend the improval of this legislation, also proceeding from the problems brought about by the practice of applying the laws on taxes for the current year, etc. Importance is attached to the taxpayers' right to complain regarding disagreements with the revenue officials. They will complain to a non-revenue department to be set up by special act of the minister of finances and economy.

The draft law was approved and the package of laws on the fiscal system in the Republic of Albania was approved in its entirety.

The Socialist Party deputy Fehmi Abdiu took the floor. On behalf of the Commission on Immunity, Mandates, and Regulation, he said that immunity is restored to Azem Hajdari as the Court of Tirana District punished him with rebuke only. He also said that there are some deputies, who contrary to the status of the deputy, carry out other functions. In conclusion, deputy Abdiu made remarks about the Assembly's working regime.

In continuation the independent deputies Ritvan Peshkepia and Arben Imami made statements in response to the attacks launched against them by the press and Radio Television and the Democratic Party parliamentary group. Deputy Peshkepia said that the reporters of the opposition have failed to explain the truth regarding the event. They only attack.

Deputy Imami said in his statement: I have offended no reporter and have tried to avoid provocation. The Democratic Party group listens a priori and tries to manipulate the event for its own interests.

Deputy Petrit Kalakula considered the statements of the two deputies as immoral, which blacken the reputation of the deputy.

The People's Assembly ended proceedings to continue on Monday afternoon.

Deputy Defense Minister Confirms Embargo Stance

AU0503205093 Tirana ATA in English 1111 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] Tirana, March 4 (ATA)—Recently, various news agencies and numerous TV networks have broadcast a

story that an amount of weapons has also been found in the Croatian ship Vela Luka loaded in the Albanian port of Durres and discovered by the UN forces one month ago. Regarding this story the Albanian Television interviewed Mr. Fatmir Mema, deputy minister of defense, who said: The cargo of Vela Luka ship was part of the contract reached between our plant and foreign firms for industrial purposes. We have no information that the exportation of these materials violates the embargo. Regarding the weapons, they are 40 pieces, patterns of three types of weapons we produce. This is part of the technical-scientific cooperation to improve their quality with Slovenian firms, a state which is not included in the war zone.

The Albanian state rigorously observes the embargo and will observe it in the future, too. With the ships of its fleet the Ministry of Defense is directly engaged in observing the embargo.

ATA Comments on Serbian Plans for Kosovo

AU0603153693 Tirana ATA in English 1147 GMT 5 Mar 93

[ATA commentary: "Serbia Pursues the Strategy of Tension in the Border With Albania"]

[Text] Tirana, March 5 (ATA)—Another act was added to the criminal acts of the Serbian military forces which control the border between Kosovo and Albania: On March 2, these forces shot dead an Albanian youngster and wounded two others.

This ugly fact follows the systematic killing of the Albanians by the Serbian forces in the context of the strategy of tension the chauvinistic regime of Milosevic is trying to apply in the state border in Albania. The objective is the create a situation to suit the anti-Albanian plans which Milosevic would not hesitate to apply if such a thing is considered indispensable for the existence of the regime.

Important is also the fact that this criminal activity goes on at a time when the regime of Milosevic is escalating the repression in Kosovo with the aim of making an ethnic cleansing of the rural zones along the state border of Kosovo with Albania. The aim is to create clean corridors to settle in those zones Slavian population. In this way they want to break the territorial compactness of the Albanians and their natural relationship with Albania.

These plans are neither new nor unknown, but they have never been made a reality except when they are imposed through violence and terror as the Serbian chauvinists are actually doing. But violence and terror cannot go on for ever. They show of weakness on the part of those who try to come out of the blind ally through bullets and crime.

Official Discusses Macedonia Border Incident

AU0503122093 Tirana ATA in English 1117 GMT 5 Mar 93

[Text] Tirana, March 5 (ATA)—"Were the Macedonian border guards aware of the relations between their country and Albania, the incidents in the border, which create a bad impression among the public and an unfavourable climate in the bilateral relations, would be avoided a great deal"—Eqrem Meta, head of department at the Albanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs cited the deputy minister Arjan Starova as saying in a meeting with the representative of Macedonia in Tirana, Viktor Gaber. Mr.Meta told the Albanian Telegraphic Agency that this meeting mainly dealt with the killing of an Albanian citizen by the Macedonian border guards in the border between the two countries. Referring to this incident he cited Gaber as saying that "this action is committed by a border guard" but added that "the Macedonian party is not satisfied with the cooperation with the Albanian party in the border to avoid illegal crossings." "There had been many such crossings before the incident, which create a psychosis of tension among our border guards," he said.

The foreign deputy minister, Starova, also pointed to the role that might be played by "elements opposing the policy on the Macedonian Government." "We understand," he said, "the difficult situation of Macedonia in these moments, whose recognition is on the agenda. Albania is interested in the existence of Macedonia as a state and wishes very good relations with it."

The Albanian deputy minister and the Macedonian representative expressed themselves in favour of a better cooperation between the local commissions, of their regular functioning.

Government Official on Origin of Vela Luka Arms

AU0403141793 Rome ANSA in English 1036 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] (ANSA) Tirana, March 3—A representative of the Tirana government, although indirectly, admitted this evening for the first time that at least a part of the arms discovered aboard the Croatian ship Vela Luka, halted in the Adriatic a month ago, came from Albania.

Deputy Defense Minister Fatmir Mema, in a statement to the TV evening news program here, said that the ship was carrying models of 40 automatic weapons produced in Albania and destined for Slovenia where, on the basis of a technical-scientific agreement between the two countries, they were to be improved upon.

The Vela Luka was intercepted on February 4 by a Belgian Navy vessel as part of joint NATO and WEU monitoring of the Adriatic, and was escorted to the southern Italian port of Bari, where authorities became increasingly suspicious of the ship's cargo and its actual destination.

Shipping papers aboard the Vela Luka identified the cargo as 171 tons of TNT industrial explosive to be delivered in Trieste to the Intra Engineering trading company of Slovenia.

The explosives were loaded in the port of Durres by the Albanian shipping company Uzina Kimike Mjeks, but the 12 containers aboard the ship were stacked in such a way they could not be opened aboard. Unloading and inspecting was done later in Trieste.

The ship's owners, the Libertas development company of Dubrovnik, had not warned its representative in Trieste, Zangrando, of the ship's supposed arrival there.

On February 27, Italian police found the automatic weapons and ammunition aboard the intercepted ship and detained the ship's captain, suspected of trying to elude a United Nations embargo against Serbia and Montenegro.

Finance Minister Interviewed on Scandal Issue

AU0503210393 Tirana ATA in English 1142 GMT 4 Mar 93

["Interview With the Minister of Finances and Economy Genc Ruli"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, March 4 (ATA)—Yesterday evening the Albanian Television interviewed the Minister of Finances and Economy Genc Ruli about a financial scandal made known by the press of late. Mr. Ruli said: The financial scandal the press dealt with of late is related to the negotiations on our foreign debt. And, in order to better explain this question, the problem of our foreign debt, its negotiation, should be treated apart from what is simply considered as a financial violation.

The most serious and concrete efforts to negotiate the foreign debt began in 1991 when, through the aid of the international institutions, which began to support the reform in Albania, the problem of finding a negotiator, a concrete person with the respective experience and authority, was tackled. This person would make contacts with these banks to find an outcome for solving this debt. The person recommended to the Albanian Government at that time was Giuliano Amato, today premier of the Italian Government, a well known person in the financial and banking circles and also a politician. This would surely give authority to the Albanian party regarding the tackling of our debt. We should bear in mind the fact that Amato's engagement as a non paid negotiator, officially and well known by all the banks, was a great help to the Albanian Government.

After that, another person was proposed and approved by the existing government. He was Andrata, former minister of finances and deputy of the Italian parliament, a known economist and actually official representative for the Albanian debt. He was made known to all the banks Albania was indebted to.

During the last months of 1992, not accidentally it came out that another negotiator had also been appointed to take contacts with banks in order to solve the question of the foreign debts. This person was named by the former premier of the Technical Government of that period, Vilson Ahmeti, with an official mandate from the latter. The thing that does not go in this history is the appointment of another negotiator when officially Albania had one. The second person was Arsid who was not made known publicly without first annulling the appointment to this post of Giuliano Amato at that time. This would certainly create a conflict, and perhaps it has created a conflict regarding our foreign debt. Because two persons were named at the same time. One was publicly known, the other not. This fact became known only in the form of a scandal and moreover this person was charged to do this duty with payment. What is considered financial violation or scandal is not the contract reached. The mistake is that the contract should have been made known to the banks we were indebted. The way payments are made, as the governor of the bank explained in the parliament, are an evident violation of the basic bank rules of payments. The payments have been made but the respective dates have not been registered. The papers are not held by the bank but by other outside persons and they have come to the bank about one year after the deadline.

The fact that there is such an evident violation of the bank rules undoubtedly creates a problem and arouses the doubt that the violation is not accidental, but it may be a financial scandal, or financial corrupsion. I do not like to express my opinion about the matter before the court has its say on that. Investigations are underway on this question.

Arbnori Reviews Visit to United States

AU0703121693 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 18 Feb 93 p 1, 4

[Unattributed interview with People's Assembly Presidency Chairman Pjeter Arbnori; place and date not given: "Albania Has Won the Respect of World Democracies; Albanians of Diaspora Are Willing to Help Democratic Albania"]

[Text] [RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE] Mr. Chairman, what impressions are you returning home with?

[Arbnori] This is the second time I have visited the United States. The first time was in July 1991 when I visited only New York. The latest visit was very fruitful. The first week I visited Washington, where I was invited by a U.S. congressional committee to attend a national prayer breakfast. Thousands of politicians and various personalities were gathered there to pray and meet with each other.

[RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE] You also met President Clinton. What can you tell us about these talks?

[Arbnori] President Clinton met many people. I was particularly honored by being invited to the president's special office. I met with him and Vice President Al Gore. I told him that for 29 years I have prayed to God to liberate Albania from communism, just like all the other Eastern countries. We are now in a democracy and again praying to God that Albania can make progress, that the Balkans can have peace, that Bosnia has peace too, that the war does not expand to Kosovo, and that there is no ethnic cleansing. For all these things, we do not pray only to God but ask the United States and democratic countries to help Albania, restore peace in the Balkans, and stop the hand of the Serbian aggressor.

[RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE] How willing is the U.S. Administration to apply the six-point plan on the situation in the former Yugoslavia, particularly in regard to the situation in Kosovo?

[Arbnori] Concerning the six-point plan, I must say that the crisis in the former Yugoslavia is an international problem as it has become the focus of several wars. This is the center of conflict, and we do not wish war there. There should not be blood, and the people should not be suppressed. That is why we have suffered and are interested in solving our problem, but other states are also concerned that the conflict does not spread. I presented this question in all the meetings I held with the various senators and members of the House of Representatives. They, too, considered this to be a very sensitive problem. We talked and I briefed them on our problems. I told them that we are a separated people, three million Albanians live in the state and three million more around the borders. I said that Albania follows the CSCE principles for not changing borders through violence. This does not mean that Albania does not defend its own brothers who have no political and human rights under the leftovers of the former Yugoslavia. I noticed that this problem was receiving their attention and that they were working to stop the war and to find a fair solution to it.

[RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE] Intense diplomatic activity is being conducted in the Balkans too. In all the meetings you and the other Albanian officials have held, what is the position on Kosovo and solving its problems as soon as possible?

[Arbnori] From the talks I held in the United States I have made up my mind on one thing: They will not let the hand of the aggressor extend as much as Milosevic and his friends would like. This is because the concessions to the aggressor, who is an enraged dog who bites one person after another, have gone too far. First he bit those near him and later those farther away. That is why everyone should be interested in bringing him to heel. The truth is that Albania has won the respect of the democracies around the world because it has always followed a peaceful road without violence and blood. This has given it a good reputation in Europe and the United States. The same characteristic can be said for the Kosovo democratic movement, that is developing without violence and bloodshed. The Kosovar leadership has been mature and prudent, and this has granted credibility to the Albanian movement everywhere around the world. The truth is that Serbia has lost many friends, and Albania, which was known by no one around the world, has begun to win friends. We have a disadvantage, however. For more than 100 years Serbia has worked everywhere around the world to establish connections. Our policy is rather new, and we should expand our connections and information. Few people around in the world know about the real situation, our past, and the injustices that have been imposed on us. That is why it is our duty and that of both sides to inform the world more about this problem.

[RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE] You also met Albanians residing in the United States. What was their interest in Albania and the events in the Balkans?

[Arbnori] I met Albanians in New York, Boston, Chicago, and Detroit. They were burning to hear the voice of democratic Albania. We talked openly there. I also met businessmen and lawyers who were concerned about the events in Albania and new investment. They wanted to know details about the laws, something which we have not provided. In Chicago they were concerned about the possibilities of opening the closed oil wells through horizontal drilling, which is a new method. During the meetings held in churches or mosques, everyone expressed interest in knowing the course of events in Albania, about the reform, democracy, and at the same time expressing their readiness to help in any way.

Commentary Views Relations With EC

AU0503210293 Tirana ATA in English 1124 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] Tirana, March 4 (ATA) - The European Community granted Albania a 400 million dollars aid, equal to 80 percent of its foreign debt. 1992, the second year in the relations between them, was the year of consolidating the steps taken during 1991, the intensification of relations in some areas and establishment of partnership.

The establishment of direct political contacts to the highest state level, the visit of President Berisha and the Albanian foreign minister in Brussels, the constant food and economic aid, the financial aid for the balance of payments, the practical application of projects in the context of PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary], Tempus, etc., are some of the main activities of the European Community in Albania. The signing of the agreement for economic and trade cooperation marked the first step of partnership. The memorandum of understanding to observe the Albanian regions bordering Serbia and Montenegro was a further step in the relations of the EC in the field of security. The European Community established its representation in Tirana in January 1992.

Official Discusses Relations With British Envoy

AU0603145393 Tirana ATA in English 0938 GMT 6 Mar 93

[Text] Tirana, March 6 (ATA)—On occasion of the coming to Albania of the charge d'affaires of Great Britain, Mr. Jonathan Gimblet, the Chairman of the People's Assembly Mr. Pjeter Arbnori had a warm talk with him. During the meeting they exchanged opinions on the grave situation in former Yugoslavia and in this context on the minorities. They laid the stress on the consolidation of relations between Albania and Great Britain through all sided economic and cultural relations, especially through British investments in Albania. In this regard, they noted that legislation in Albania has been improved and foreigners are created possibilities for investments.

Economic Agreement Signed With Austria

AU0703171393 Tirana ATA in English 1110 GMT 7 Mar 93

[Excerpt] Tirana, March 7 (ATA)—[Passage omitted] Through a decision, the Albanian Government gave its guarantee for the application of the 1 year bilaterial economic agreement between Albania and Austria.

The agreement creates the necessary legal basis for the further development of economic relations between the two countries. According to it, the contracting parties grant each other the status of the most favoured nation in their bilateral trade.

The agreement covers important fields of the economy, such as inustry, agriculture, food, transport, tourism, mines, health sector, exchange of information, environmental protection, etc. [passage omitted]

Agreement Signed With Poland

AU0703171993 Tirana ATA in English 1116 GMT 7 Mar 93

[Text] Tirana, March 7 (ATA)—The agreement between the Republic of Albania and the Republic of Poland on the mutual protection and encouragement of investments and the agreement between the Republic of Albania and the Republic of Poland on the elimination of double taxes were signed in Warsaw on March 5, 1993.

For the Albanian party, the agreements were signed by the Minister of Finances and Economy Genc Ruli and for the Polish party by the Minister of Finances Prof. Jerzy Osiatynski. Present in the signing ceremony were Prof. Richard Mihalski, the Albanian ambassador in the Republic of Poland, Enver Faja and the members of both delegations.

During his stay in Poland, Mr. Genc Ruli had separate meetings with the former deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of Poland Prof. Leshek Balcerovic who projected the Polish economic reform and with the economic assistant to the president of the Republic of Poland Andzhej Kazakievic. In these meetings they discussed the forms of cooperation in the future, especially the exchange of experience and a technical assistance for Albanian specialists in the fields of privatization, taxes system, bank and currency systems.

New Director Named to Tirana ShIK Department

AU0603174693 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 20 Feb 93 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Tirana National Information Service Changes Chairman!..."]

[Text] Some days ago, Bashkim Gazidede, general chairman of the National Information Service [ShIK], went to the Tirana ShIK Department and urgently summoned all the staff.

He dismissed the former chairman Saimir Kokona who, according to some secret sources had been nominated to this post by a direct order from the president, and replaced him with Mr. Rexhep Karapici, former teacher at one of the faculties of Tirana University.

The ShIK employees are asking with surprise: Why was chairman Kokona dismissed so quickly?

Some say that there are voices that he has been implicated with a car [as published] in Sarande; others say that he has been involved in an affair. However, all these are rumors. Only Gazidede knows the real reason.

The fact that he dismissed somebody nominated by the president's order means that the reasons must have been very strong.

Concerning this, we will address Mr. Gazidede himself so that the public knows the bitter truth.

Sebastianos Calls for Autonomy of 'Vorio Epir'

AU0603184193 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 18 Feb 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Sebastianos—An Anti-Albanian Manifestation"]

[Text] A well-informed source reports that during a manifestation held near the Kakavije border post on Saturday, Sebastianos, the orthodox metropolitan of Konice, called for the autonomy of the so-called "Vorio Epir" [southern region claimed by the Greeks].

Sebastianos made this call in front of the area inhabitants who were gathered with his initiative to "celebrate" the 79th anniversary of the "Vorio Epir government."

Former Premier Placed Under House Arrest

AU0603173193 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 19 Feb 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Legal Proceedings Initiated Against Former Premier Vilson Ahmeti"]

[Text] Prosecutor Shkelqim Kokona and investigator Beqir Kokoshi announced yesterday at noon that they will start legal proceedings against former Premier Vilson Ahmeti.

At 1430 Ahemeti was isolated at home under the control of 10 policemen. Thus, the bank scandal affair of $1,600,000, the whereabouts of which remain unknown, is further complicated.

Mr. Ilir Hoti, general governor of the Albanian State Bank, whose firm is found in dozens of documents, has not been summoned by the Prosecutor's Office even as a witness!

The threads of the mafioso corruption are reaching the top of the blue cupola of the Premier Meksi government.

Greek Minorities Refuse Military Service

AU0603170393 Tirana BALLI I KOMBIT in Albanian 18 Feb 93 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Minorities Refuse Military Service"]

[Text] About 540 members of the Greek minority, residents in Sarande and Gjirokaster, have refused to perform the obligatory military service in the units of the Albanian Army, under the pretext that this Army is mistreating them. Their abandoning the military service en masse and not being present at the military departments is only happening some time after the call published by newspaper OMONIA, organ of the Greek Minority Association in Albania.

Cars With Expired Pesticides Remain in Bajze

AU0603153993 Tirana ATA in English 1129 GMT 5 Mar 93

[Text] Tirana, March 5 (ATA)—Precisely a year ago, on March 3, 1992, the first wagons with pesticides from Germany reached the railway station of Bajze. There was enthusiasm about them as an assistance in the difficult period of transition. But soon, enthusiasm was replaced by the serious worry: the pesticides brought in form of an aid to Albania by a private German firm were harmful and had expired. This was a good lesson but also a warning for a possible corruption.

Although a year has passed, still the problem is not yet solved. The wagons are still in Bajze. They are safeguarded day and night by armed policemen, but after 12 months this protection is impossible.

Ecologists seem to be silent although the worry of the inhabitants near the railway station is great. The workers of the station, too, are worried about the harmful effect of the pesticides.

Besides the worry about environment, there is another problem in Bajze. The Albanian Government has to pay the German railway association for the 365 days of the stay of wagons in the railway station. There are 17 wagons and 18 dollars should be paid for each of them for 24 hours stay in the station. This is a small debt added to the great inherited debt.

Sending them back to Germany seems to be impossible. Their burial in the territory of Albania would also cause undesired reactions. Their elimination claims great funds of money as well.

Ganev Says SDS Cause Jeopardized

AU0503210193 Sofia PODKREPA in Bulgarian 1 Mar 93 pp 1,3

[Interview with Stoyan Ganev, former minister of foreign Affairs, by Galya Nikolova; place and date not given: "Stoyan Ganev Is Concerned About the Country and the SDS Cause"]

[Text] [Nikolova] Mr. Ganev, why should you, one of the most influential and charismatic Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] leaders, suddenly be a subject of controversy?

[Ganev] I certainly am for some people. The more so, since they did not expect me to provide evidence for my accusations against former Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov and his entourage. I cannot believe that SDS people could be so grossly ignorant. The fact that someone has the ambition to be the sole representative of the coalition does not mean that it should be so. The problem is not to split the SDS, but to remain united. It is not a question of communist uniformity, but of protecting common interests.

[Nikolova] Have you talked to some of your colleagues, the former cabinet ministers, about the measures applied against you by the government under which you served?

[Ganev] What should I talk about? I am perfectly aware of all these things and just tried to defend myself. I learned that I had been accused of compiling the notorious "list" [containing names of present SDS figures who were supposed to be informants of the communist state security services], that I was suspected of carrying diplomatic bags and attache cases filled with compromising documents, and so forth. The truth is that real intentions of proving my alleged involvement with espionage existed.

[Nikolova] Why were you accused along with Ahmed Dogan?

[Ganev] I cannot speak for Mr. Dogan. As far as I am concerned, I am convinced that communist and other circles were against my being foreign minister and persisted in their efforts of wrecking my political career and my private life.

[Nikolova] Do you know who stole your attache case?

[Ganev] I do not know. All I know is that my car was broken into and the attache case was stolen. The famous "list" was supposed to be in that attache case, but the search for it was interrupted at some point.

[Nikolova] Do you consider yourself a criminal, after Mr. Filip Dimitrov said that only the telephones of people involved in organized crime were tapped?

[Ganev] I am somewhat confused about all this. Mrs. Kruleva [Director of the National Investigative Service] began by saying that my own telephone was tapped, but subsequently changed her mind, claiming that it applied to other people and that I was merely affected by proxy.

[Nikolova] Do you believe Mrs. Kruleva's accusations?

[Ganev] I do not know what she said, so I cannot answer your question.

[Nikolova] I mean her accusations against former cabinet ministers.

[Ganev] I am not familiar with the details of her statements. Nevertheless, I know everything about the notorious "list." No one needs to tell me anything about it. Who are the perpetrators? Let the prosecution deal with the matter.

[Nikolova] Do you intend to seek justice for yourself?

[Ganev] The most important thing for me is that I survived, namely that I was not prosecuted, and that I am safe and sound today.

[Nikolova] Are you afraid of something?

[Ganev] I am not concerned about my own safety, but about the country and the SDS cause.

[Nikolova] Does it mean that they are jeopardized?

[Ganev] Yes, because certain people within the SDS still have a purely communist mentality while they claim to strive for a democratic society. This is impossible. Some of them were quietly sitting in their homes, while others fought for democracy against communism. The people who remained idle are trying to reverse the situation today. Regardless of how they do it, the fact is that we are regressing.

[Nikolova] Is this the reason you handed the "yellow envelope" [containing compromising documents about the ex-prime minister and some of his cabinet members] to parliament?

[Ganev] It was a question of defending my personal honor. Since they asked for evidence, I decided to provide it.

[Nikolova] What will happen to the documents in question from now on?

[Ganev] Only God knows.

[Nikolova] Will they be made accessible to the public?

[Ganev] I think that Article 357 of the Penal Code should be eliminated.

[Nikolova] Would this help to unveil some political mysteries?

[Ganev] Nothing will be clarified, and how could it be, after all these affairs are exploited for blackmailing purposes rather than to the benefit of society?

[Nikolova] Could you forecast the future development of the SDS?

[Ganev] There should be no place for totalitarian ideas in our coalition. I do not accuse anyone. I do not blame single figures or parties, because we are all still influenced by communism. This means that if you do not like someone, he should automatically be your enemy, and you can accuse him of being either a KGB or a CIA agent.

[Nikolova] Are you optimistic about the future?

[Ganev] I am not particularly optimistic about the country's future as a whole. I would like to be optimistic about the SDS future, which should also reflect upon the country. However, I am convinced that we are facing some difficult years and great hardships. We need perhaps 15 to 20 years to recover from the damages caused by communism. I think that we may reach the political and intellectual standards of the Czechs and Hungarians, but we should not pretend to be optimistic. We should rather face reality.

Commentator on 'Hegemonic Ambitions'

AU0503174893 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 2 Mar 93 p 6

[Asen Indzhiev commentary: "Hegemonic Ambitions Will Destroy the SDS Idea"]

[Text] On 24 February Dragiya Dragiev, spokesman of the parliamentary group of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces], stated in a declaration that there is no alternative to the SDS idea. What finer and more eloquent proof could one have of the SDS coalition's firm adherence to its principles? In reality, a claim of this kind is propagandistic in nature and has a propagandistic effect on SDS supporters by asserting that each of them could be assured that the leadership of his or her favorite political forces was keeping to a straight course in the struggle to continue the economic reform and the democratization of political and public life. However, this is true only up to a point, because there is also another aspect, and this showed through in the SDS parliamentary group's declaration. This second aspect, we must painfully acknowledge, smells of ossification. What else can a claim that there is no alternative mean in the sphere of Bulgarian politics, economics, and society, an area in which situations and information on them change from day to day and from month to month?

Recently a lot has been said and written about the SDS committing suicide, and the SDS parliamentary group declaration on 24 February is a further step towards this act of suicide. In fact, the problem is not so much that someone wants to put an end to his life, but that many innocent people will suffer as a result. In other words, those who are leading the SDS towards so-called suicide are first and foremost killing that beautiful hope whose realization a large proportion of Bulgarians connected with government by the SDS coalition. However, the year-long SDS administration revealed two of the most ugly features of the killers of hope: intolerance for others' views and a blind sense of their messianic mission, which are easily incorporated into this SDS idea that has no alternative.

It is certain that if elections are held, the Bulgarians who voted for the SDS before, being fully aware of the destructive role played by the people surrounding Stefan Savov and Filip Dimitrov, but not wanting to remain indifferent to politics, will once again cast their blue SDS ballot papers. One view is that they will be obliged to vote for the lesser evil. However, the chief feature governing the actions of those who now lead the SDS is that they are aware of the impasse that the rank-and-file SDS supporters face in making their choice, and this unties their hands, leaving them free to campaign solely to achieve their hegemonistic ambitions.

For more than three years, people have been talking about the need for a change in the BSP, and they are still doing so. Now, it is necessary not merely to talk, but to scream at the top of one's voice about the need for change in the SDS as well. Otherwise, the killers will continue their work. They have already done this with Levski.... [SDS protest at Levski commemoration ceremony in Sofia on 19 February]

Parliament Finishes Debating Government Program

AU0503135993 Sofia BTA in English 1229 GMT 5 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 5 (BTA)—Today parliament ended the debates on the programme presented by Prof. Lyuben Berov's cabinet. The debates opened two weeks ago. None of the three parliamentary forces came out with an official stand on the programme at today's plenary sitting.

Prof. Berov's cabinet stands a chance only as a programme government seeking national concord to overcome the crisis and in this case we are ready to support it, the leader of the Bulgarian Socialist, formerly Communist, Party [BSP], Zhan Videnov, said. He pointed out his party reserved its right to oppose the cabinet's decisions and actions if they ran counter to the cabinet's declared intentions or the interests of the BSP electorate.

The Socialists expect that the cabinet, submitting its draft budget and privatization programme, will seek again the MPs' vote of confidence and the support of both the political forces and the trade unions, the BSP leader said.

From the point of view of national security, the programme is categorically a national one, BSP MP Dimitur Yonchev, a representative of the radical Alliance for Social Democracy faction (OSD), said. As a deputy chairman of the Parliamentary National Security Committee, he dwelt in detail on the section of the cabinet's programme devoted to defence, security and public peace. Mr. Yonchev considers that the lack of an assessment of the present state of the country's national

security is a weak point in the programme. In his opinion, the three types of problems which the Army, the Ministry of the Interior and the judiciary share in common have to do with the legal framework, personnel, material supplies and the personal insurance of human resources.

Taking the floor, BSP MP [member of parliament] Aleksandur Tomov, another representative of the OSD faction, said that the programme gave guarantees for the continuation of reforms in the country. He sees a proof of it in the measures implemented by the government for the further liberalization of prices and for giving an impetus to privatization in the agricultural and the industrial sector. He reproached the cabinet for having not sufficiently motivated the macroeconomic framework of its programme and for not having made the macroeconomic parameters more clear presenting their interrelation.

MP Aleksandur Pramatarski of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), ex-minister of trade, expressed his dissatisfaction with the plans of the cabinet concerning privatization. Mr. Pramatarski was the sole SDS MP who took the floor today because the SDS MP's had almost used up their time limit on opening the debates.

Independent MPs' representative Stefan Karadzhov focussed on the unclear points in the programme concerning land restitution.

SDS, BSP Deputies Urge Kadir Resignation

AU0603154093 Sofia BTA in English 1933 GMT 5 Mar 93

["Today" —BTA lead]

[Excerpts] Sofia, March 5 (BTA)—82 M.P.'s of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) and the Election Alliance led by the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) have moved for the resignation of Kadir Kadir, deputy chairman of parliament, M.P. [member of parliament] of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, because of his "improper" conduct during a sitting at which Investigation Service Director Ani Kruleva made a statement, as well as because of the "unwarranted expulsion" of Stefan Savov M.P. of the SDS from the same sitting.

National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov today received UNESCO [UN Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization] Deputy Director General Albert Sasson.

Parliament decided today to sit on Tuesdays as well in order to speed lawmaking. Until now, plenary sittings were held on Wednesdays and Thursdays and Friday was reserved for questions to the cabinet ministers.

Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev sent a telegram expressing his condolences to Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov and the bereaved families in connection with the tragic accident at Skopje Airport involving a Macedonian passenger aircraft.

Prime Minister Lyuben Berov, who leaves for Brussels on March 7, will visit NATO on March 9. [passage omitted]

Russian Ambassador Aleksandr Avdeyev visited Shumen. He met with representatives of the parliamentary and the extraparliamentary political forces in Shumen municipality. The meeting was not attended by members of the local SDS leadership. [passage omitted]

A delegation of INA-Zagreb, the biggest oil refinery in Croatia, is visiting this country. It will seek contacts with Bulgarian producers and traders. The guests will meet with representatives of Bulgarian Oil Refineries and of the National Electricity Company and will visit the metallurgical works in Kremikovtsi (near Sofia) and Pernik (Southwestern Bulgaria).

Some 1,000 members of Podkrepa's Regional Trade Union of Mechanical Engineers and Metal Workers in Pernik are on a strike alert, BTA's correspondent reported.

In a declaration issued today Podkrepa's Federation of Health Care Workers said it divested Health Care Minister Tancho Gugalov of its confidence because no sectoral agreement has been signed and social dialogue has been impeded so far. The federation's leaders call an urgent meeting of the National Strike Committee and recommended to its members to support the protest actions of mechanical engineers and miners, members of Podkrepa.

Lecturers at the Higher Medical Institute warned today they would go on strike in seven days unless the government amended its decree envisaging a change in the status of the Medical Academy, this country's biggest health care establishment.

An inspection group of the French Armed Forces will arrive in this country next week, the Defense Ministry's Press Office said today. It will review the fulfillment of Bulgaria's commitments under the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty and will inspect cutbacks in tanks and armoured vehicles in Turgovishte (Northeastern Bulgaria).

The construction of a second bridge over the Danube River between Bulgaria and Romania was discussed at a meeting in Craiova, Romania. At the request of the Mayor of Vidin, Mladen Kamenov, Prof. Alexandru Toba, prefect of Craiova, said he approved of the idea to build the bridge between Vidin and Kalafat. The Bulgarian Government decided to build the bridge in Vidin and the Romanian side is expected to make a decision by March 31.

Article Analyzes Current Political Scene

AU0803093593 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 5 Mar 93 p 6

[Article by Docent Dragomir Draganov: "BSP Holds Both the Bread and the Knife"]

[Text] Strange things have begun to happen since the deputies and the government reconvened after the parliamentary recess, and they have continued for more than a month.

The Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] continues to disintegrate like an old shoe. The anteaters chase the ants, the swashbucklers defeat their enemies, and the police informers unmask other informers. The scandalous revelations of Ani Kruleva [Director of the National Investigative Service] about the absolutely lawless state that existed during the "first democratic" government will apparently pour oil onto the fire of those processes. The no less scandalous revelations of the "first democratic" government about the activities of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, which laid the foundation of the SDS election victory, have cast a shadow of doubt over the entire essence of the transition toward democracy.

The Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] is in a rather delicate situation. It has been condemned by the SDS and is about to be totally rejected by its only natural ally. It has lost its image as the "permanently winning" balancing factor in parliament, and is now no more than a simple component of the "new majority." More precisely, it is the most vulnerable component because of the direct commitment of its members to the cabinet. It is even more vulnerable because of the obvious nationalism of Lilov's group, which at any moment could join forces with the growing nationalists of Savov's group. This removes the DPS further from its obvious aspiration to become a national rather than an ethnic movement.

The extraparliamentarian forces have hardly ever been in a more difficult situation. The intention of forming an alliance between the Business Bloc and Moser's Agrarians failed through the assistance of certain strategists. Glushkov's Christian Agrarian Party is still no more than an unfulfilled personal ambition rather than a political reality. The Bulgarian Social Democratic Party and the Green Party have left the Bulgarian Democratic Center, and so another formation that created the illusion of a political power has crumbled. There is space in the center but no centrist political power, and such a formation is hardly likely to emerge soon.

Against this background, the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] remains the only unaffected party. In addition to being the largest parliamentary faction, the BSP actually controls the new parliamentary majority—this applies both to the DPS and the "ants," and those formations seem to have no influence over the question of whether this government will survive. At the same time, the Socialists' commitment to Berov's cabinet is negligible.

It is true that the BSP deputies voted for the cabinet, but this does not prevent them at any moment—from the debate on the cabinet's program to the first time one of their demands is rejected—from toppling the cabinet. There always will be an argument for such a step. Berov's government has no choice but to continue to pay all the debts accumulated by the populist demagogy and biased restitution policy of Filip Dimitrov's cabinet. The only possible reaction to any new step in this sphere will be even more massive disapproval. This provides the Socialists with ample opportunity to show that they are closely following the reaction of their supporters.

That the BSP is keeping in mind the option of toppling the government is evident against the background of its systematic preparations for new elections. Replacing the television's leadership is a categorical warning addressed to anyone who would try to demonstrate a preference for a single political color, as [former television director] Asen Agov did. The demand to replace a section of the oblast administrators is a serious warning addressed to local state bodies, which allowed an excessive SDS politicization after October 1991. Their depoliticization will be a guarantee of a relatively calm election atmosphere, an issue that very much moves the BSP. This party knows better than anyone that for the election freedom of choice for the Bulgarians is directly connected to their oblast leaders.

Thus, on the one hand, Berov's cabinet is almost completely in the hands of the BSP. On the other hand, the Socialists are the most crucial factor in determining when the eventual early elections will take place. In addition, even if it brings about the dissolution of parliament, the BSP will not suffer any political or moral consequences, because it is capable of determining precisely the most suitable moment for this step.

I think that this is the answer to the frequently asked question about who really governs the state. Why and how this situation has emerged is another question. However, democracy has an iron rule: Unlike totalitarianism, it cannot tolerate incompetent politicians in the political arena for a long period of time.

Berov Denies Existence of Political Tension

AU0603195593 Sofia BTA in English 1942 GMT 6 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 6 (BTA)—Interviewed on national television today in the prime time political news and views show "Panorama," Prime Minister Lyuben Berov denied that there is political tension in the country.

"Some people are trying to organize such tension in an effort to keep on the surface, but the people in Sofia and even less so in the provinces, do not support the policy of confrontation and deliberate discrediting of state authorities," Prof. Berov said.

The head of government said that he is planning to fight vulgarity in politics, which he believes is assuming menacing proportions, but does not intend to use discrediting disclosures or baton charges in this effort. Prof. Berov was obviously referring to the strong reaction against his government and the booing by supporters of the Union of Democratic Forces at major national observances.

The prime minister said that, in his view, it is inadmissible to use national television for personal or political ends. Mr. Berov believes that national television does not always present a balanced selection of news and that it would be appropriate to appoint a parliamentary commission to sum up the facts within one week. On the basis of these facts and of the results of the financial audit at the television, parliament should decide who should head that national institution, the premier suggested. National Television Director General Asen Agov was dismissed from this post a week ago.

Prof. Berov described the parliamentary debate on his cabinet's programme as "apathetic." He said it was a pity that no government member was given the floor to comment on some remarks and criticism. The prime minister believes that the programme defends national rather than narrow partisan interests and deserves support from any party.

SDS Organizations Meet Before Conference

AU0603181493 Sofia BTA in English 1735 GMT 6 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 6 (BTA)—The organizations affiliated to the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) are holding meetings and conferences in Sofia and around the country today and tomorrow in preparation for the SDS national conference, scheduled for March 13 and 14.

The Ecoglasnost National Movement is summing up its activity and considers its place in the SDS at a national meeting today. The movement decided to turn into a single national organization with vertical structures. Mr. Edvin Sugarev MP was re-elected chairman. The participants in the meeting discussed Ecoglasnost's environmental and political activity. The delegates decided that at the SDS national conference Ecoglasnost should propose a decommunization of the SDS structures, i.e. that former Communists should not be promoted in these structures. The meeting adopted a policy declaration on effective environmental protection and a radical replacement of the totalitarian system.

The United Christian Democratic Centre is discussing the problems of the SDS: What is the coalition, what does it seek, with what partners, and by what means? The meeting is expected to adopt a policy declaration on the matters discussed today.

The delegates to the national meeting of the Radical Democratic Party are discussing the position which the party should take at the forthcoming SDS forum. A policy declaration and a general position of the National Party Council are expected to be adopted tomorrow. According to Mr. Asparukh Panov MP of the Radical Democratic Party, changes in the statute and leadership of the SDS will hardly be moved. The Radical Democrats view the situation in the country as pre-election and believe that what matters most at this point is to preserve the unity of the SDS.

Mr. Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the SDS National Coordinating Council, today met with representatives of SDS-affiliated organizations in the area of Veliko Turnovo. A pre-election situation is taking shape in Bulgaria and this is the only way out of the crisis in which parliament, the government and the president have found themselves, Mr. Dimitrov said at the meeting.

The Democratic Party will hold its national conference tomorrow.

Leaders Prepare for National Conference

AU0703181893 Sofia BTA in English 1747 GMT 7 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 7 (BTA)—"On the eve of the National Conference of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), the Democratic Party reiterates its firm commitment to the positions of anticommunism," reads a resolution adopted today at the end of the party's national meeting which opened here on March 6. The Democratic Party takes a categorical stand against the incumbent government of Prime Minister Lyuben Berov and believes that it is impossible to restore the parliamentary majority with the parliamentary Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS)—the ethnic Turks' party, and the breakaway and expelled SDS MP's. The only way out of the restoration process and the political crisis is to hold early parliamentary elections, the document says. The Democratic Party believes that the effective SDS Statutes have to be amended without upsetting the "one party, one vote" principle of the coalition. The resolution points out that at this political point the Democratic Party opposes the raising before the conference of any matter concerning a vote of confidence or no confidence in individuals. Relations of close coordination should be regulated between the SDS National Coordinating Council and the coalition's parliamentary faction, the document points out. In conclusion the resolution emphasizes that the Democratic Party insists on the SDS unity and calls on all members and supporters of the coalition to be loyal in the fulfillment of the historic mission for a final and irreversible elimination of the totalitarian communist system.

"The possibility of early elections is already in the air," the chairman of the SDS National Coordinating Council Filip Dimitrov told SDS members and supporters at a meeting in Vratsa (northwestern Bulgaria) today. "The question is who wants elections and who doesn't want them. The BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], the DPS and the president stand nothing to gain from new elections.

For its part, the SDS counts on its electorate's reasoned assessment and believes it will be returned to power by their votes," Mr. Dimitrov said. "The SDS started the change, it will give people back their land and their expropriated property, it will settle the foreign debt problem and will safeguard the state from foreign imperial interests." Elaborating on the attempts by right-wing and left-wing forces to ruin the SDS, Mr. Dimitrov emphasized that despite the outside pressure and certain inner differences, the coalition of democratic forces in a possible alliance with Mrs. Moser's Bulgarian Agrarian Party and George Ganchev's Bulgarian Business Block will regain its dominant role in parliament and the government, on Bulgaria's political scene.

The Ecoglasnost National Movement today declared itself unanimously against Lyuben Berov's government and said that it sees new general elections as SDS's only opportunity to return to power. "SDS is the only serious force which can counter the threat or authoritarian rule," the movement said in a document released today.

At its national conference yesterday the United Christian Democratic Centre declared itself in favour of a consideration of new Statutes of the SDS coalition to introduce rotating leadership and categorically opposed the actions of the incumbent government. The centre wants elections, to which the SDS should go with a clear-cut winning strategy. The United Christian Democratic Centre favours SDS's cooperation with parties of anticommunist and non-socialist orientation on the basis of the SDS programme.

The National Committee of the SDS-affiliated Social Democratic Party [SDP] sees the actions of Lyuben Berov's cabinet so far as seeking a clear restoration of communism, the party's National Committee stressed in a declaration released last night.

The SDP voiced its firm conviction that the SDS can return to power only through new elections and emphasized that the SDP is and will remain a loyal coalition partner within the SDS. The SDP is of the categorical opinion that what matters most at this point is to fight for a complete and final decommunization of this country.

Cabinet Discusses Budget at Special Meeting

AU0603163593 Sofia BTA in English 1612 GMT 6 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 6 (BTA)—At an extraordinary meeting today, the Council of Ministers considered the draft national budget submitted by Finance Minister Stoyan Aleksandrov. The ministries have been asked to present their observations, objections and budget requests. Mr. Aleksandrov said the idea was, basically, to seek further opportunities to cut down spending so as to keep the budget deficit within 27,500 million leva, or 8 percent of the gross domestic product [GDP]. If all departments do not modify their claims, the budget deficit may well exceed 46,000 million leva, or over 20 percent of the GDP.

The cabinet considered the requests of the Ministries of the Interior and Defence, which are the largest, and of the Ministry of Environment, which wants the smallest amount of government money, 21 million leva, for the implementation of its programme. The Environment Ministry stands a good chance of having its budget request granted.

Apart from the draft budget, the Finance Ministry is working out a budgeting and budget utilization bill. Mr. Aleksandrov told the press that a financial audit of Bulgarian National Television starts on Monday and that he is planning to cut the Finance Ministry's staff by 50 employees.

Official Says Army Lacks Public Funding

AU0503140093 Sofia BTA in English 1139 GMT 5 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 5 (BTA)—The lack of a defence budget runs counter to the requirements of military planning, and the lack of a long-term programme for the development of the Armed Forces shows that the Bulgarian Army is losing its natural status of state priority, Major General Orlin Marinchev, head of the financial administration of the Ministry of Defence, tells the BULGARSKA ARMIYA daily today.

The monthly financial support of the Bulgarian Army is now provided in advance allocations amounting to one-twelfth of the 1992 military budget, or about 517 million leva a month, General Marinchev says. The monthly advance allocation has not been adjusted for the nearly 80 percent inflation in 1992 and for the new prices and changes in the foreign exchange rate. These funds can barely keep the Army going and pay for some essential supplies, only, he says. As a result, the defence sector has piled up huge debts in the very first months of the year, which should be repaid after the passage of the 1993 Budget Act, according to him.

Strict austerity has been introduced in the Army to guarantee its financial support until the passage of the new military budget, General Marinchev says. According to him, all vacancies in the Army have been blocked by an order of the chief of General Staff and fuel spending has been cut down.

In General Marinchev's opinion, the Bulgarian Army faces severe social problems. The housing problem has yet to be settled, but the 1993 budget bill envisages the completion of only 1,300 flats which will be enough for just the most urgent element of the waiting list, he says. The forthcoming redeployment of army units will cause new housing problems, according to the head of the Defence Ministry's Financial Administration.

Escalating TV Leadership Crisis Discussed

AU0603154493 Sofia BTA in English 1853 GMT 5 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 5 (BTA)—The Parliamentary Radio and Television Committee decided today to launch the procedure of nominating candidates to the post of director general of the Bulgarian National Television (BNT). The candidates should be nominated by March 11 and the new director general should be elected by the end of the month.

Earlier today the Radio and Television Committee voted that BNT Acting Director General Militsa Traykova had exceeded her powers by issuing orders for the dismissal of employees. This afternoon Mrs. Traykova submitted her resignation to the National Assembly chairman, stating that she had canceled her dismissal orders. Within several days after parliament relieved former BNT Director General Asen Agov from his post and appointed Mrs. Traykova as acting director general, Mrs. Traykova dismissed the Director of Channel 1, Stefan Dimitrov, Chief Secretary Petur Georgiev and the Chief of the Equipment Maintenance Department - Mr. Todor Strashimirov, and appointed new people to their posts. These dismissals, as well as the relief of Mr. Agov from his post, provoked the discontent of the trade unions at the National Television. The attempt of Mrs. Iliana Benovska, even before she was appointed chief of Channel 1, and of a leader of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) to interfere in the work of the host of the popular Panorama weekly round-up political programme, Mr. Ivan Garelov, triggered strong reactions at the National Television.

Today President Zhelyu Zhelev met with Mr. Mikhail Nedelchev M.P. of the Union of Democratic Forces and Chairman of the National Assembly Radio and Television Committee. "The president showed great interest in the law we are drafting which will regulate the forms of control over the national mass media," Mr. Nedelchev told journalists after the meeting. The president approved the stand of the Radio and Television Committee on the need to ease the tension created by the attempt of the DPS to exercise political pressure on the National Television.

Journalists of BTA came out with a declaration in connection with the way BNT Director General Asen Agov was relieved of his post and the subsequent events at the BNT in which they insist on the passing of a law guaranteeing the independence of the national mass media and excluding all possibilities for a direct and gross interference of the political forces in their work. We are alarmed by the threat on the freedom of speech and by the dangers to which the national mass media - the Bulgarian National Television, the Bulgarian National Radio and the Bulgarian News Agency, are now exposed, the declaration reads.

The Executive Council of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation also insisted before the National Assembly today on giving priority to the passing of a radio and television act in connection with the situation at the Bulgarian National Television.

Economic Delegation Returns From Moscow

AU0703160393 Sofia BTA in English 1539 GMT 7 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 7 (BTA)—A Bulgarian Government economic delegation returned from a three-day official visit to Moscow today. The head of the delegation, Deputy Prime Minister Valentin Karabashev, flew from Moscow to Brussels for the signing ceremony of the agreement on Bulgaria's association with the EC.

In Moscow the delegation conferred with Russian Deputy Prime Minister Boris Fedorov, co-chairman of the Intergovernmental Commission, with the ministers of finance, the economy and foreign economic relations. They focused on problems concerning bilateral trade and economic cooperation. The CEO's of Bulgartabak, Chimimport and Pharmachim, who were on the delegation, said they were pleased with their talks and expressed the hope that this visit will help overcome a number of problems in economic cooperation. Chimimport Director Belo Belov pointed out that he hoped the talks would help settle a long-standing 33 million U.S. dollar debt to his company and arrange export of soda ash to Russia.

Industry Minister Bikov Returns From Turkey

AU0503143293 Sofia BTA in English 1348 GMT 5 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 5 (BTA)—Bulgarian Industry Minister Rumen Bikov today returned from Turkey, an Industry Ministry spokesman reports. Mr. Bikov held talks with Turkish Minister of Industry and Trade Mehmet Tahir Kose. They signed a protocol on the promotion of economic relations, the spokesman reports.

At a meeting with Turkish Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel and Minister of State Orhan Kilercioglu, Mr. Bikov discussed opportunities to promote bilateral relations and especially interaction with Turkish industrial firms.

Kozloduy Plant's Financial Problems Discussed

AU0603154393 Sofia BTA in English 1903 GMT 5 Mar 93

[Text] Kozloduy, March 5 (BTA)—The Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant is on the verge of a financial collapse. Unless its financial problems are solved within a few months, it may stop operating for lack of funds, not because of the pressure exerted by environmentalists, Kozma Kuzmanov, manager of the Kozloduy Power Station, told a news conference today. Operators in Kozloduy are doing their best to upgrade its safety. Mr.

Kuzmanov said Unit Two, which meets international standards, is a case in point.

However, only the government and the National Electricity Company can guarantee the financial security of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Station. They should urgently work out a concept on the development of nuclear power engineering. They should decide how long the older, 440-mw units will be in operation and should allocate funds for their conservation.

It became clear that international organizations have granted token assistance so far. The European Community has granted ecu 11.5 million for consultations and a study of the condition of the Kozloduy Power Station. France has donated 23 million francs. In 1993 the nuclear power station will need hundreds of million leva for repairs and reconstruction, purchase of equipment and radioactive waste disposal. More funds will be needed for the purchase of nuclear fuel from Russia.

Mr. Rene Cappel, leader of the 15-member team of the World Organization of Nuclear Operators working on the reconstruction of the older units, said he was pleased with the measures taken to upgrade safety so far. He will urge the EC to extend greater financial and technical assistance to the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant.

Five out of Kozloduy six units are operating with an output capacity of 2,800 mw.

Aleksandrov Notes Intelligence Interest in Army

AU0703160193 Sofia BTA in English 1521 GMT 7 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 7 (BTA)—"The Intelligence Services of neighbouring and non-neighbouring countries have intensified their interest in the Bulgarian Army," said Defence Minister Valentin Aleksandrov, speaking in the authoritative political talk show "Sunday 150" on national radio this morning.

"What I have in mind is not the official exchange of information but covert intelligence gathering by all possible means," Mr. Aleksandrov specified. He cited the example of the intelligence service of a neighbouring country phoning a plain-text order to its station chief in Bulgaria "to gather more information about the new chief of such and such Army unit." Mr. Aleksandrov said this keen interest was only natural, as Bulgaria has a new leadership and almost all generals have been replaced over the last year.

Asked by the host about the action taken to stem violence and abuses in the Army, cases of which are surfacing in the press from the time to time, Mr. Aleksandrov said this was a complicated problem and cannot be solved by enforcement. He said that since the beginning of the year he had dismissed or demoted nearly 50 commissioned and non-commissioned officers responsible for such violations. As from September 1993, Mr. Aleksandrov is planning to introduce the institution of conscripts spokesman, a novelty in the Bulgarian Army. Each platoon will have a representative with the company and regiment commander. Besides, unit commanders and conscripts mothers will form mixed committees to exercise some control on interpersonal relations in Army bases.

Prague Radio Interviews President Havel

LD0703172593 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1315 GMT 7 Mar 93

[Interview with President Vaclev Havel by Richard Medek at Havel's residence in Lany; from the "Conversations" radio program; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Medek] [Passage omitted] To start with, I would like to recall your first business trip abroad, the trip to Slovakia. You took part in the inauguration of Slovak President Michal Kovac, and on this occasion you had a number of talks. Apart from Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, you also had talks with the presidents of Hungary, Poland, and Austria. What aspects of these talks do you personally regard as important for the future of relations in the Central European region in which we live?

[Havel] [Passage omitted] Concerning the talks, although they were brief, all of them revolved in some way or other around one key topic that you have touched upon in your question, which is cooperation in the Central European region. It concerned the future of the so-called Visegrad group and also our cooperation with Austria. My view is that it is quite natural that in this region, which stretches from Slovenia to Poland, a kind of a network of very specific cooperation should come into being in the future. We are countries with similar concerns, problems, and positions.

In this connection, I am particularly interested in Austria, because for many decades we have had an ambivalent attitude toward this country. [passage omitted]

The history of Czech-Austrian relations is complex. It seems to me that time is getting ripe now for us and for Austria alike to jointly consider the nature of our modern relations, to consider our joint responsibility for the fate of this region. Austria is in effect pondering how to become a member of Europe, because the principle of neutrality is somewhat losing sense in the modern world and in modern Europe. Austria wants to redefine its identity in some way; it does not wish to find itself in isolation. What we should, therefore, think about should be security and other aspects of Central European cooperation. This appears to me to be the crucial topic. I intend to take up this topic during my forthcoming visit to Austria next week. I am going on a state visit there because, for well known reasons, I did not go to Austria on a state visit as a federal president. President Klestil and I agreed that this should be the main topic of our discussions, so to speak.

[Medek] Let us return back home from abroad, that is to the matters of internal politics. One of the main topics last week was the issue of restitutions of Jewish communities' property. A concern was voiced whether the adoption of this restitution law, or the draft restitution law, would not go beyond the threshold of 25 February 1948. What is your personal opinion on the observation or violation of this particular principle set for restitution?

[Havel] I think that it is a scandal that until today the Jewish communities were not given back those few synagogues and cemeteries that belong to them and that were taken from them after the onset of the Nazi regime. I think that these should be returned to them. There is absolutely no doubt about it. It does not concern many objects.

At the same time, I believe that it probably should not be called a restitution and that it need not mean going beyond that unsurpassable border. I believe that for many other reasons it is correct that this limited border is generally seen as being unsurpassable. However, it should be legally and properly defined. That is a task for lawyers—it should be some sort of repayment of a debt formed long ago, a debt whose legal title goes back to as early as the post-war period and that has never been paid back. Hence, it should not have been considered a restitution.

[Medek] On 7 March we shall commemorate the anniversary of the birth of our first president Tomas Garrigue Masaryk. You have shared your opinion on his personality, his approach, and his philosophy on innumerable occasions. It might be worthwhile to hear, in particularly from you, a few words on his personality.

[Havel] I have the impression that today it would be appropriate to underline one particular thing, and I am going to mention the same thing tomorrow, on Sunday at approximately the same time when these conversations will be broadcast on the square in Olomouc [Northern Moravia] where Masaryk's statue will be unveiled. Namely, it would be appropriate to underline this: The permanent emphasis on the moral origin of politics; on the ethical basis of democracy, law, and economic development, all of which was understood by Masaryk as tools for something beyond this, namely to a dignified human life—this permanent emphasis on these matters does not mean that Masaryk was any kind of a raving enthusiast, a dreamer, a philosopher who was out of or above practical issues of the era. [passage omitted]

He is an example to all of us in showing that there is no gap between general deliberation on general relations and real, practical work. On the contrary, practical work acquires its real sense, dimension, and objective on the backdrop of a particular view of life.

[Medek] I would like our last question of today's Conversations at Lany to focus on foreign issues again. America has a new president. Of course, it is no novelty today. Still, Bill Clinton is already in office and there are different opinions on him from different sides. Some are enthusiastic, some approach him with disdain. What is your opinion of the political and philosophical profile of Bill Clinton and his party?

[Havel] I am really no expert on Bill Clinton. I would take the liberty, nevertheless, to voice one more general remark on the matter.

My impression is—and the dialogues that I continue with many Americans confirm this to me—that the Americans link many hopes to Bill Clinton taking the office of president. I have a feeling that I understand the nature of those hopes a little.

Bill Clinton is a young man who underwent the process of self-awareness in the sixties. [passage omitted]]

I can see something from this climate of the sixties in his current administration. It is that kind of a spirit that stresses a certain, let us call it, solidarity, that underlines a clearer relation of the kin, that stresses some values that were not stressed so much by the Republican administrations.

It is some kind of a rhythm in American politics with Republican and Democratic administrations taking turns. They always stress one of the two poles and oscillate between them.

Democratic administrations have not always been successful. We know that, for example, President Carter did not end very well, although he took over the office with many bright ideas, and many hopes were attached to him. It was he who put the idea of human rights back into the focus of attention and had his share of contributions in the formation of all those dissident movements in the communist world and other regions.

Let us recall the time when Kennedy took office. These times were always linked with a certain hope that some sort of a fresh wind would blow in America. Liberal intellectuals, young people, students were always happy when the Democrats took office, as if something new was emerging compared to that harsh economic world they had known under Republican administrations. I can perceive something of this sort of situation in Clinton's administration. Whether those hopes will come true and whether Clinton's office will really represent some new phase in the development of America and in the development of the world or whether it will end in failure as with some of his predecessors, is difficult for us to say at this moment. Nevertheless, I have the impression that I understand the ethos of this administration. Furthermore, I would even dare to confess that it is close to my beliefs.

[Medek] Mr. President, thank you for the interview.

Interior Minister Discusses Border Issues

LD0703211793 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1730 GMT 7 Mar 93

[Excerpts] Part of the members of the Czech Government met for an extraordinary session today to discuss the shape of the state border with the Slovak Republic. Petr Stiegler has more details:

[Begin recording] [Stiegler] [passage omitted] Deputy Premier Jan Kalvoda said today that the Czech Government proposed standard border controls. According to unofficial signals the Slovak partners prefer looser arrangement. [Interior] Minister Ruml added to that.

[Ruml] We can build up the protection of our state border without Slovakia's consent. However, we would prefer this agreement on the protection to be a joint one, so that on the border crossings we would have joint projects, joint investments. It is cheaper as well. Of course, the precondition for that is to conclude an international agreement on the establishment of border crossings.

As for the protection of the so-called green border, there is at the moment no need to hold talks on that, because it is really up to every state how it would go about protecting this part of its border.

[Stiegler] The interior minister went on to say that the measures implemented on the borders should in no way be aimed against citizens of the Czech or Slovak republics. The priority is to prevent a further influx of illegal immigrants and refugees from third countries. According to unofficial estimates, there are some 50,000 to 100,000 of them in our country. [end recording]

Economics Minister Dyba Discusses Temelin Plant

AU0803140493 Prague CTK in English 2138 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 4—Czech Economics Minister Karel Dyba said today that the Temelin alternative for electricity production in the Czech Republic is the least harmful.

During his visit to the construction site of the Temelin nuclear power plant in South Bohemia, Dyba said the decision about a definitive place for a radioactive waste storage needs time and will not be made before an appropriate law is passed. To find the right place for radioactive waste can take seven to ten years, he said.

Dyba and the management of the Temelin plant agreed that the criticism and disapproval of Temelin completion is the consequence of the lack of knowledge of nuclear power plants.

He emphasized the importance of publishing information about the operation of the power plant and its security regulations.

[Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 5 March on page 3 carries a 200-word "ch"-signed report on Minister Dyba's visit to Temelin, which includes the following passage: " 'Our stand on the completion of Temelin remains unchanged. Out of the 84 communities represented in the Association of Towns and Communities in the area of the nuclear power station, 60 have presented their opinion on the completion of Temelin, of which only six advocate the completion of the nuclear power

station,' A. Svoboda, mayor of Tyn nad Vltavou, said on Thursday [4 March], prior to the mayors' meeting with Czech Minister of Economy Karel Dyba."]

Klaus Denies Accusations of Withholding Payments

AU0503173693 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 3 Mar 93 p 2

["ha"-signed report: "Slovakia's Mistake"]

[Text] The Czech side is not holding foreign-currency payments for the use of the gas pipeline. Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus refutes Monday's [1 March] criticism by the Slovak prime minister. The payments involved here are not those made by the Czech Republic for the gas transit but rather those made by the German side to the Metalimex enterprise. As long as Transgas is not divided, there is nobody onto whom these payments should be passed. This is a purely technical problem. Moreover, Klaus said that his attempt on 2 March to contact Prime Minister Meciar by telephone and clarify the issue proved to be hopeless because of the presidential inauguration.

Warns Against 'New Dualism'

AU0803130693 Prague CTK in English 2111 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 4 (CTK)— Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus today said he supports establishment of natural economic and geographic regions on the territory of the Czech Republic.

During his visit to South Moravia, Klaus met in Jihlava with representatives of the Association of Mayors and local council chairmen from the Czech-Moravian highlands who told him they consider this part of the country to be such a natural region.

Klaus said regions should not be drawn on a map from Prague or Brno, but that they should come into being through the will of their inhabitants.

The existence of a Czech-Moravian highlands region would be good especially in view of the Moravian issue, Klaus said, adding that he is frightened by the prospect of any new dualism in the Czech Republic.

Klaus was referring to attempts by some nationally oriented Moravian movements seeking the restoration or autonomy of the historical Moravian lands, comprising Moravia and Silesia. Similar nationalist efforts on the part of Slovakia led to Czechoslovakia's division into two independent republics at the end of 1992.

According to some representatives of the Association, the historical border between the Czech lands and Moravia has ceased to be functional as some districts, such as the Jihlava district itself, extend on both sides of the border.

Not 'Surprised' by Meciar Statement

AU0803130393 Prague CTK in English 1900 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 4 (CTK)— Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus said today he was neither startled nor surprised by Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar's statement Wednesday [3 March] that Slovakia was abandoning the Klaus-style reform.

Speaking to journalists in Jihlava during his visit to the South Moravian region, Klaus said it is an exclusively Slovak affair to decide on this issue.

I wish for the Slovak Government to decide according to its best ideas and opinions, Klaus said.

At a meeting of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) on Wednesday, Meciar said Slovakia was abandoning the Klaus-style reform of economic policy which, he said, had caused a 30-percent economic decline in Slovakia.

Unions, Government Disagree on Minimum Wage

AU0803130993 Prague CTK in English 2130 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 4 (CTK)— Nothing bars the general agreement from being signed next Thursday [11 March], Ivan Kocarnik, Czech finance minister, who chairs the Czech Council of Economic and Social Agreement, said today.

Speaking at a press conference following the meeting of representatives of the government, entrepreneurs and trade unions, Kocarnik said that mainly the issue of minimum wages was on the meeting's agenda.

While the government and the entrepreneurs are of the identical opinion that minimum wage tariffs should be raised by an average 11.1 percent, which is the last year's price level rise, the trade unions ask to increase minimum wage tariffs by 20 percent. This demand is unacceptable for the other two partners, as it might lead to inflation, Kocarnik added.

Government Wants Tighter Controls on Border

LD0803123793 Prague CTK in English 1221 GMT 8 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 8 (CTK)—Czech Ambassador to Slovakia Filip Sedivy, who is to hand his credentials to Slovak President Michal Kovac Tuesday [9 Mar], said today that one of his first tasks will be to explain the Czech Republic's proposals for stricter control on the Czech-Slovak border.

As revealed after a government session Sunday, the Czech Republic considers it necessary to change the loose regime on the border between the two republics in

such a way that persons from third countries and all goods would be allowed to cross it solely at border crossings.

Speaking with CTK today, Sedivy confirmed that the primary question is whether the Slovaks understand the risk of migration of people from third countries in the same way as the Czech Government.

He stressed that the proposed measures are not intended to complicate the movement of Czech and Slovak citizens across the border between the two successor states to the former Czechoslovak Federation.

Since the Czech embassy building in Bratislava is not yet ready to host the ambassador, Sedivy will stay in the Bratislava Hotel Borik for the time being.

The hotel was the venue of last year's decisive talks between the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) of Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus and the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) of Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar on dividing Czechoslovakia into two independent republics. Sedivy was then a member of the Czech delegation.

Difficulties of New National Armies Discussed

AU0503155193 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 27 Feb 93 p 3

["bk, peo"-signed report: "Both New National Armies Have Difficulties"]

[Text] Olomouc—So far, 120 professional soldiers of Slovak nationality—who have served in Moravia and are currently subordinated to the "Center" Military District Command—have applied for relocation in Slovakia. That is 14 percent of the professional soldiers in this section of the Army. At the same time, the "Center" Command has estimated that those interested in leaving the Czech Army as a whole is 10 percent.

According to Lieutenant General Frantisek Podesva, the most frequent reasons for leaving are interest in serving in the Slovak Army, and family or personal problems. "The precise number will be known on 31 March, as those soldiers interested in serving in the Czech Army must apply for Czech citizenship so that their service does not acquire the character of service in a foreign army," Lieutenant General Podesva stated.

Last year 50 percent of all professional soldiers under the "Center" Military Command left the service before their term expired. Approximately 50 percent of the soldiers who resign apply for retraining, particularly in management and computer technology. The amount of severance pay they receive, as specified in the amended Law 76, depends on their length of service. The minimum is one month's salary, and after 30 years of service this golden handshake amounts to six months' salary.

"We are mostly concerned about young professional soldiers leaving," said Frantisek Podesva. The shortage of platoon and company commanders is most strongly felt in the Army. According to Podesva, fewer than 2 percent of military professionals under the "Center" Command only have the qualification of political instructors. "The situation requires an individual assessment for each of them," Frantisek Podesva said.

At the end of 1992, 8,685 Slovaks were serving in Czech lands, and 2,580 Czechs in Slovakia. Now the new national Armies are in the process of dividing the remaining 13 percent of military material of the former Czechoslovak Army. Both successor armies have problems with storage capacities. Therefore, until the end of 1993, 171 tonnes of Czech military chemical material will be stored in Slovakia, and the Slovak military power is credited with 7,000 cubic meters of fuel currently stored in the Czech Republic.

EC Changes Opinion Toward Successor States

AU0803154293 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 5 Mar 93 p 14

[Jaroslav Hofer Brussels dispatch: "Shift of Opinion in Brussels"]

[Text] The initial hopes that the original treaty on Czechoslovakia's association with the EC would be transferred to the Czech Republic and Slovakia without any textual modifications are vanishing.

Sources in the EC's Brussels headquarters and Czech diplomats in Brussels believe that, apparently, it will not be possible to prevent a change to the original treaty in at least one aspect: A clause will have to be added to the treaty, under which the EC will have the right to abrogate the treaty should human rights violations be ascertained in the associated countries.

This represents a certain shift of opinion from last week when Czech Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Pavel Bratinka returned from Brussels with the hope that the text of the treaty would not be changed. The causes of this shift must be sought in Brussels itself where, until now, there has been no unanimity of views on this issue among the officials of the "Twelve." However, now even those officials who used to advocate a mere transfer of the treaty to the two successor states do not see a possibility of preventing the document from being renegotiated.

Catharine Day, head of the department that is responsible for relations with East European countries, declared that from the viewpoint of international law, a new treaty is involved. Therefore, the EC's decision of last May must be projected into it, under which all new treaties must contain the clause on human rights. A mere transfer of the treaty to the successor states would run counter to the "Twelve's" legislature. A final confirmation of this position can be expected in the next few days.

As Mrs. Day stressed, the inclusion of the clause therefore does not imply any concern over the implementation of human rights in the present-day Czech Republic. This point of view was also endorsed by other foreign and Czech diplomats. Despite certain disagreements regarding the two sides' approach to the Visegrad four, EC officials evaluate relations with Prague as trouble-free. In the present situation there exists virtually no chance of removing EC barriers to the inordinate increase in exports of some steel products to Western Europe. It will also be very difficult to obtain new trade concessions in the other spheres of trade between the Czech Republic and the EC that are still regulated by EC import tariffs.

On the other hand, possibilities have appeared for Czech and Slovak scientists' greater involvement in EC-financed projects. There are also chances for more intensive cooperation in building Europe-wide road and communications networks.

Government Tells DPRK To Reduce Staff

LD0503223393 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 2130 GMT 5 Mar 93

[Text] The Czech Republic has asked North Korea to reduce the number of its staff at the Korean diplomatic representation in Prague to the level of the Czech Republic's diplomatic representation in Pyongyang.

The Czech Republic has thus responded to North Korea's attitude. The Czech Foreign Ministry said North Korea has treated the Czech delegation to the supervisory commission overseeing the [1953] armistice on the Korean Peninsula in an inhuman and uncivilized way.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea [DPRK] has not recognized the Czech Republic as a successor to the former Czechoslovak Federation in the four-member Neutral Nations' Supervisory Commission, and wishes to substitute another state of its own choice. Yet the succession was mutually agreed as early as the end of 1992 by the Czech and Slovak Republics.

The DPRK's handling of the matter has been described by the Czech Foreign Ministry not only as a North Korean provocation against the Czech Republic with the intention of breaking bilateral relations, but also as a serious blow to the stability and balance on the Korean Peninsula, because it would weaken the control mechanism of the Korean armistice.

Commission Established on Drug-Related Issues

AU0503140293 Prague CTK in English 1854 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 3 (CTK)—A commission to combat spread of narcotics in the Czech Republic was formally established today according to an announcement from the Czech Interior Ministry.

The commission's charter was signed by the Czech ministers of justice, labour and social affairs, industry and trade, education, health, finance, foreign affairs and the interior.

The commission will also deal with drug abuse prevention and coordinate the enactment of drug policies. It will be chaired by Interior Minister Jan Ruml.

Hard-Line Communists Criticize Svoboda

AU0503140393 Prague CTK in English 1149 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 4 (CTK)—Some 150 communists applauded the speech by former communist leader Miroslav Stepan, co-founder of the For Socialism faction, in Havirov, North Moravia, yesterday.

Stepan, who was Prague City communist organisation chairman until November 1989, was sentenced in 1990 to 2-year prison term for ordering the brutal repression of the student demonstration on November 17, 1989, which led to the removal of the communists from power in Czechoslovakia. Released on probation, he joined the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM) in September 1992.

Early in 1993, he created a faction within KSCM along with another former prominent communist official (minister of the interior), Jaromir Obzina.

At the Havirov rally, Stepan called the followers of current KSCM Chairman Jiri Svoboda renegades and accused them of the crime of collaboration with the government.

On discussion about changing the party's name, Stepan insisted on keeping the existing, communist, name. This party must be, in his words, combatant, well-organized, radical and militant. He said that the European developments are not irreversible, as (his opponent) Svoboda claims, but that the chances of re-establishing socialism are quite realistic.

Stepan said that he appreciated the newly elected Social Democratic Party (CSSD) Chairman Milos Zeman's statement that we must badger the government. If the communists had been saying this for the past three years, they might have been the strongest political party, said Stepan.

The rally was attended by pre-November 1989 Communist Party officials, who were given the seats of honour, and also by KSCM Central Committee Member Vaclav Papez.

Meciar Clarifies Denouncement of Klaus Reform

LD0503141993 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 5 Mar 93

[Interview with Premier Vladimir Meciar by Magda Pospisilova in Bratislava after economic experts meeting in Stara Tura, date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Pospisilova] You said that Slovakia is denouncing Klaus' economic reform. When will you submit an economic reform and what kind will it be?

[Meciar] Let us be precise. I said that we denounce Klaus' model of economic policy, and that is slightly different from economic reform. This economic policy—which was determined by considerable restrictions, by its impact on Slovakia which reached the limit of social feasibility, which basically got us into a deadlock and made us into an appendage to the Czech economy—this is not feasible for us, with regard to state set up changes. [as heard]

Bank representatives sit at Stara Tura, representatives of the Association for Industry sit there, just as representatives of foreign trade, representatives of business circles, representatives of economic theoreticians who are close to Ministers of the Government of the Slovak Republic, as well as employees of specialist sections. It is a broad spectrum where we are striving to achieve understanding and agreement on the actual points of departure which the government will consider as a program of stabilization of the economy and halting decline. These are very important relations, working hours are long, for example yesterday we finished just before midnight and the point was made that human rights must be respected. Today, tomorrow and the day after tomorrow we will continue in these talks and as debate is developing it is very demanding. The individual groups have thus met for the first time in history under my chairmanship. I believe that they will reach valid conclusions. It is very constructive.

[Pospisilova] Are they all experts, followers of the Movement for Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], or is it a broad political spectrum?

[Meciar] As to HZDS, both myself and several other ministers know that we belong to it, but as regards others, we did not ask anyone about political affiliation. Conversely, the individual associations selected their representatives and they delegated them. I am not at all interested in who is politicaly affiliated with what. I am not interested in who belongs to what; I am interested in expert readiness to solve such complicated relations as no doubt exist, such as rejuvenation of finance, writing off debts, stabilization of the Slovak currency, protection and administration of the market, strategy of getting to foreign markets, solution of the question of employment, proper handling and reviving of regional policy, and support of small private enterprise as in the implementation sphere. Sources of this support are questions to which by Sunday we should provide answers for our readers.

[Pospisilova] When will the public be able to get acquainted with them?

[Meciar] I assume that on Monday I will fly to Great Britain. The session of the government with which I am naturally concerned is on Tuesday, and a news conference is to take place on Thursday with those reporters who are interested in the economic sphere. We would like to publish our conclusions there.

Gives Address on Economic Issues

LD0703203393 Bratislava ST1 Television network in Slovak 1815 GMT 7 Mar 93

[Regular Sunday television address by Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] Good evening, esteemed fellow citizens: We have just concluded four days of complicated but constructive talks about the prospects of our economic policy, its strategy, tactics and specific measures for the near future. [passage omitted]

The main thing is that we have reached an agreement. The reaching of an agreement was necessary for the government of the Slovak Republic to enable it to openly brief all citizens about these issues. The main points will be given to our public on Thursday. However, let me inform you about some conclusions reached at this consultative meeting.

The first prerequisite for making the adopted measures effective is a change of the social climate. Speaking about a change of the social climate, we do not intend to reject everything that has taken place so far. However, what we need is to behave and think a bit differently—to move from the political to the factual point of view. [passage omitted]

A change is also necessary in people's thinking—not to see catastrophes everywhere, to despair, or just to look for difficulties that our society faces. We have analyzed them, and we are aware of them. Nevertheless, despair has never produced anything good. To just be passive and complain is not good enough, it is necessary to take actions that will make our society healthy and enable our economy to behave differently.

This political agreement, the change of climate to a creative one, is one of the prerequisites for the success of economic measures [words indistinct]. In reality people's lack of motivation has reached the limit where it could become unpleasant.

In the proposed economic strategy we confirmed our fundamental intention to make our society market-orientated, while respecting the inevitable social and ecological measures. Regarding the social character, we

differ in this from the former understanding of the economic reform of Mr. Klaus. These social factors are the prerequisite for the success of the reform; they complete it, forcing the society to mobilize all its parts and not only a pure market. In fact, a pure market cannot exist by itself in a society. As far as ecological consequences are concerned, at present our fundamental strategy is not to worsen the situation. At present we still lack resources for a radical change for the better.

We had three main points of departure. The first one was to halt the decline of the Slovak economy. [passage omitted]

The first precondition for the brake mechanisms to operate successfully is to revitalize state financial affairs. These are sick. There are two shortcomings. First, we have to maintain currency balance, stability of the currency. We may not allow the situation to grow worse. This is possible, of course. If the stability of the currency is maintained, there will be no devaluation and the stability of other social relations will be maintained as well. We will lso achieve another advantage, namely we will then be able to freely exchange koruny for foreign currency. That is internal convertibility.

Second, we must search for ways to improve money circulation. [passage omitted] When talking of money I have to mention two other points. The first one is related to writing off company debts. According to an estimate, since there is no hard data on the matter, Slovak companies lack more than 60 billion koruny to be able to pay their mutual debts. This includes both primary and secondary insolvency. The latter results from the fact that even though the company is capable of producing and supplying produce it is not being paid by the vendors, and thus ends up in the red. If this situation is prolonged, then everything will stop.

As for agriculture, the situation is such that if no solution is found, then within a short period 90 percent of cooperative farms will collapse. We cannot afford that. For this reason extensive measures will have to be applied to write off companies' debts in order to renew normal payments.

Related to the above is discipline in financial relationships. It will be necessary to consider what we can do and what we have. [passage omitted]

If companies lay foundations on their future investments and do not make payments to their suppliers, it means that they are doing business with their money. That will have to stop. If companies create their accounts in such a way that one account is in one bank and the other account is in another bank, a third, fourth etc, and the general picture of their financial matters gets blurred—well, they will not be able to behave like this endlessly.

Another important topic that we have tackled was laying foundations for future prosperity. This means that we not only apply negative measures, the brakes, but simultaneously with these brakes we develop other mechanisms that enable development. We are looking for these measures in supporting investments, small and medium-sized businesses, regional policy, technological development, and in other activities.

Behavior toward the market and foreign countries has to change as well, specifically so that we open ourselves to markets everywhere where our produce can be sold, everywhere where we can be successful.

It would be a poor landlord who would only look for markets elsewhere, abroad, and would not try to find out what his own market was like. Therefore a thorough inventory of all relationships and financial flows will be carried out to change the ratio so that imports are smaller than exports. This is an important measure to make things healthier, especially if we consider the difficulties that we are faced with. All this can be resolved, though.

The third condition, the third strategy that we have tackled, was the effort to search for the social feasibility of these changes, to prevent deterioration of the citizens' situation. This concerns both those who have to rely on pensions from the state and those who expect wages for their own work.

Of course, this tension in the social sphere cannot be expected to improve radically today. Were we to search for ways to release sources in all areas of incomes, we would make our starting position for the basis [as heard].

While assessing the situation in the Slovak Republic, I would like to say a few words from the meeting with Mr. Jacques de Groote from the IMF with whom we held talks during the meeting. He was satisfied with Slovakia's success after it gained sovereignty, with the status quo of government's economic policy, and with the situation. He assessed the situation and said that the mistake was on their side, that from all the initial data they had, they assumed our situation to be worse.

Hence, even though we do sometimes assess ourselves too critically we can now praise ourselves.

The important thing is what will be the practical results of what we have done, what practical life is going to be like. We can, all of us, find our place, trade unionists as well. We do not have to press only for pensions and benefits. Let us press for creating public opinion for the benefit of our producers, for the benefit of the work of our people. Let us trigger off a large initiative with a modest slogan: Buy our products, you give work to our people.

Thank you.

Knazko: Meciar 'Damaging' Foreign Policy Interests

LD0603203293 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1730 GMT 6 Mar 93

[Report by correspondent Alexander Picha, with recorded remarks made by Slovak Foreign Minister Milan Knazko in Slovakia on 6 March]

[Text] [Picha] Minister Milan Knazko today confirmed that not even his personal letters to President Kovac and Chairman of the Parliament Gasparovic had swayed the decision taken by Premier Vladimir Meciar to prevent Knazko from attending the CSCE and Visegrad Four Foreign Ministers' talks in Brussels.

In the meantime, speculation is rife about whether Meciar's adviser Jozef Moravcik [formerly federal minister of foreign affairs] will be going. Minister Knazko said he thought such representation would not be adequate and would damage Slovakia's interests. Knazko said:

[Knazko] It is astonishing that the premier does not realize this. And if he does realize it, it is astonishing that he is consciously damaging Slovakia's foreign policy interests.

[Picha] The Slovak foreign minister also responded to Meciar's statement in which the latter said that he allegedly had not proposed Knazko's recall on Monday [1 March].

[Knazko] In the government they record the whole cabinet session proceedings. So it is not a problem to verify this information. Unfortunately I have to say that the premier, and it is not for the first time, is not telling the truth.

[Picha] Asked by the Czech Radio and Czech Television whether the fact that Premier Meciar in the end did not table Knazko's recall was not because the work of Knazko's ministry had earlier been endorsed by Ivan Laluha, chairman of the Slovak parliament's foreign committee, and President Kovac, Milan Knazko said:

[Knazko] I think that this is just more proof that logic is absent in the premier's behavior.

[Picha] The Slovak minister of foreign affairs also said that he will not step down from his office quietly. He said he thinks it is still necessary to look for a compromise least damaging to Slovakia's interests.

Ukrainian President Kravchuk Congratulates Kovac

AU0603161693 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 3 Mar 93 p 3

["ic"-signed report: "Impulses for the Central-Eastern Europe; A Letter From Leonid Kravchuk to President Michal Kovac"]

[Text] Bratislava—Because Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk could not attend the inauguration of President Michal Kovac due to pressing domestic political reasons, he contacted the Slovak president by telephone on the eve of the inauguration, and in addition to congratulations, he offered an invitation for an official visit to Ukraine. After the inauguration, Ukrainian Ambassador Roman Lyubkyvkyy congratulated Kovac and conveyed a message of greetings from Leonid Kravchuk. We publish a portion of the fax and major passages from this document.

"Today, like never before, it is very important not only to maintain our good relations but to expand and reinforce them in every way possible. Identical problems of the two countries and common goals should help to a great extent to enhance our mutual relations. I believe that a unique opportunity offers itself to us at this time to build the Ukrainian-Slovak cooperation on a qualitatively new basis, on principles of friendship, good neighborliness, complete equality, territorial integrity, inviolability of the border, mutual noninterference in internal matters, and in accord with all the generally recognized standards of international law. Our two countries have a broad and firm basis for the cooperation in the political, economic, cultural, and other spheres, and therefore we look forward to the future of Ukrainian-Slovak relations with optimism." The Ukrainian president emphasized in his message that "it also is necessary to provide new impulses for our mutual cooperation in foreign politics that will help the cooperation of the countries in the Central-Eastern Europe and in the entire continent. The peoples of our countries are united by centuries-old tradition of cultural ties that we believe should be developed and supported in every way possible. Our rich cultural heritage must be utilized to the utmost. That will help the young generation of Ukraine and Slovakia to pave the path connecting our hearts.

Signed Leonid Kravchuk

Kiev, 1 March 1993

Parliamentary Committee Supports Work of Knazko

AU0503140593 Prague CTK in English 1647 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] Bratislava March 3 (CTK)—The Slovak Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Policy can find no shortcomings in the work of the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the sort to initiate a dismissal of the Slovak Foreign Minister Milan Knazko, Ivan Laluha, the committee's chairman, told journalists today.

Laluha said the work results of the Foreign Ministry and the fulfillment of the government programme are subject to an analysis currently being made out by four members of his committee and due to be concluded in ten days. After its presentation, the committee will make suggestions to the cabinet as to the future moves towards the ministry.

Laluha said that recalling Knazko by a parliamentary non-confidence vote is out of question as none of the deputies has tabled a motion to this effect so far. Only the Slovak president can do that on a recommendation by the premier, but that's another thing, added Laluha.

With respect to Knazko's trip to Brussels, which has been called off, Laluha said that he does not know in full what were the Slovak cabinet's reasons for this decision, and added that in his opinion this move will stir up differing rumours and interpretations.

At the Slovak cabinet's meeting March 1, Jan Lisuch, state secretary in the Foreign Ministry, became their choice to go to Geneva and Brussels in the second week of March instead of Knazko, who had originally been thought to be the man for the job.

In Geneva, Lisuch is to attend an international conference on human rights and rights of ethnic minorities, and in Brussels he is to meet March 9 NATO Secretary General Manfred Worner.

Ministers, Financial Experts Conclude Discussions

LD0703195993 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1730 GMT 7 Mar 93

[Text] A four-day meeting of the Slovak government ministers in charge of the economy with financial and banking experts ended in Stara Tura today. Our correspondent Alexander Picha reports from there:

[Picha] The principal aim of the deliberations, chaired by Vladimir Meciar, was to outline the potential of the Slovak economy and draft a new economic strategy.

In an interview for Slovak radio and TA SR, Meciar described as most important the halting of the Slovak economy's decline. However, he also confirmed today that his government will not change its program statement.

IMF executive director de Groote met with Slovak economics ministers during their deliberations. According to the information available so far, the Slovak government is attempting to preserve the exchange rate of Slovak koruna, above all because of political considerations. The deficit is to be tackled by administrative restrictions of imports and through the government's development programs. So far it is not clear when the Slovak government will make public its intentions in the economic field.

The guards of the compounds in Stara Tura again today prevented correspondents of Czech radio, Czech television, and CTK from contacting any of the participants in the deliberations. According to those guarding the compounds, this decision was taken by Anna Nagyova, director of the Meciar office. However, correspondents of Slovak television and radio were given access to the building. Moreover, correspondents of the TA SR—the agency subsidized by the Slovak government—have continually issued reports from the building during the past few days.

Minister Comments on Division of Transgas

AU0503155793 Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 1 Mar 93 p 2

[Unattributed report in the "Topical" column: "About the Transgas Partition"]

[Text] Slovak Economy Minister Cernak refuses to describe the outcome of the latest talks with Czech Industry and Trade Minister Dlouhy on the division of Transgas property as a concession. In an interview for TA SR, he said that joint projects—still organized by the Federal Government—will be completed by the end of June 1994 at the latest. After this date, the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic will trade with gas independently. The completion of the measuring station on the Slovak-Moravian border is also linked to this date. "This investment is a Czech project, and the construction costs are estimated at 1 billion Czech korunas," Cernak said. Russia will pay with gas for selected integration projects built outside the territory of the former CSFR, and it will be divided between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic at a ratio of 2:1 in favor of the Czech Republic. They will be paid by a shipment of 4.7 billion cubic meters of gas by the middle of 1994. According to domestic tariffs, the transport of 1,000 cubic meters of gas over 100 kilometers costs $0.58 per unit. Slovakia demands $1.4, while the Czech side believes that the world price cannot be reached in a single leap.

Andrejcak Expresses Interest in Minister Post

AU0503202393 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Mar 93 p 2

[TA SR report: "Ready To Go in Khaki"]

[Text] Liptovsky Mikulas, Bratislava—With the participation of the secretary of the Defense Ministry of the Slovak Republic, Igor Urban, the first assembly of the Union of Professional Soldiers of the Slovak Republic took place in the hall of the Military Technical Academy in Liptovsky Mikulas on Saturday [27 February]. Michal Kovac, president of the Slovak Republic, sent a greeting letter to the assembly. He expressed his readiness to provide support to the Union.

The main objective of the Union is to build, on democratic principles, an independent interest-group organization, whose principal goal would be to monitor, push for, defend, and satisfy social, professional, and justified interests of its members and their families. Through the orientation of its activity, the union wants to actively contribute to the establishment of a modern army, capable of fulfilling its tasks ensuing from the Constitution of the Slovak Republic. It wants to actively contribute to the education of people, their patriotism, and

their preparedness to defend the country. More than 50 percent of 12,000 Slovak professional soldiers in interested in membership. General Staff Colonel Engineer Jan Hadac was elected chairman.

We have taken the advantage of the presence of the defense minister of the former CSFR, Engineer Imrich Andrejcak, and asked him what would be his first step if he became the Defense Minister of the Slovak Republic. He said: "We must complete the distribution of the funds that the Slovak Republic gave us for defense. We have problems finding optimal solutions for maintaining the full combat-readiness of the army, securing the social needs of the officers and civilian employees, and securing the respectable life of the soldiers."

I have gained the trust of the prime minister of the Slovak Republic because of my work and attitude, Imrich Andrejcak said in the "Radiozurnal" program of the Slovak Radio on Saturday [27 February]. He said it regarding Meciar's statement describing him as the only For a Democratic Slovakia Movement candidate for the position of the defense minister of the Slovak Republic. Andrejcak said that Prime Minister Meciar gave his approval for Andrejcak's position in Prague [the CSFR defense minister] and attentively watched his actions—this was also the reason he proposed him for the federal defense minister. He confirmed that he is interested in the position of defense minister of the Slovak Republic, since he had this function in the federal army, and he is not afraid of having this function in the Slovak Army, despite the fact that he knows how much work this job requires.

Trade Deficit Reaches 1.55 Billion Korunas

AU0503160093 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 3 Mar 93 p 1

["(sim,vim)"-signed report: "Slovak Deficit Has Already Reached 1.55 Billion"]

[Text] Prague—In the first 22 days since the currency split, the Slovak trade deficit with the Czech Republic reached 1.55 billion korunas. This comes from information provided by the clearing center of the Czech National Bank. This development testifies to the imbalance in mutual trade and confirms previous estimates that suggested an annual deficit of 20 billion korunas.

To redress the trade imbalance, the National Bank of Slovakia (NBS) investigated the possibility of a 5-percent adjustment to the exchange rate which the treaty on payments provides for. To put it simply, Slovak importers are paying, theoretically, 5 percent more for the identical goods. At the same time, the treaty on payments places an upper limit of 4.5 billion korunas on the current account deficit. A possible devaluation of the Slovak koruna, which the Slovak Government is refusing to implement for the time being, could be a solution to the imbalance in mutual trade.

When repaying debts incurred during the existence of the common currency, Czech enterprises paid to their Slovak creditors 1.59 billion korunas more than Slovak firms paid for their debts in Bohemia. This development confirms the assumption that Czech enterprises would be more willing to pay their debts than Slovak ones.

In view of the mechanisms of the treaty on payments, the NBS paid more to Slovak enterprises by this amount and the Czech National Bank owes it to the NBS. The overall deficit on both accounts is, because of this, 42 million korunas in favor of the Slovak Republic. [as published]

EC Wants 'Speedy Solution' to Dam Dispute

AU0503140493 Prague CTK in English 1958 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] Bratislava March 3 (CTK)—The European Community (EC) Commission wants to reach a speedy solution to the Slovak-Hungarian dispute over the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project on the Danube, director of the EC Commission Foreign Relations Department Pablo Benavides told journalists today.

He said the solution must ensure that the Danube's ecosystem will not suffer irreversible damage, and at the same time that Czechoslovak and Slovak investments in the twin-dam project will not be wasted. It is possible to put these two requirements in harmony, Benavides said.

The EC Commission official was today received by Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar, at whose invitation he came to the Slovak capital. He will also meet with experts of the Slovak Foreign Ministry to discuss the conclusions reached by the tri-lateral commission of experts from the EC, Hungary and Slovakia. On Thursday [4 March] he will discuss them with Hungarian experts in Budapest.

Hungary has proposed that Slovakia and Hungary should jointly submit their dispute over Gabcikovo to the International Court of Justice in The Hague, but agreement on the joint request has not yet been reached.

Report on IMF Recommendations Published

AU0503212993 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 3 Mar 93 p 12

[Unattributed report in the "Monitor" column: "Recommendations of the International Monetary Fund"]

[Text] The editorial office of the daily SME obtained, and published in its Tuesday [2 March] issue, material on the conclusions of an IMF mission concerning the problems of the Slovak Republic's 1993 budget. The text, which the government discussed and of which it took note at its meeting on Monday [1 March], is a summary report on two sojourns by IMF missions to the Slovak Ministry of Finance, one in December 1992 and one on 15-19 February 1993.

The report states that most potential risks dwell in the revenue part of the state budget, primarily in indirect taxes and in the corporate tax (the IMF estimates this risk at 12 to 13.5 billion Slovak korunas).

The risks in the sphere of expenditures are estimated by the IMF at 7.5 billion Slovak korunas [Sk], which include the issue of state bonds for investment projects (comprehensive housing construction and water reservoirs)—which, according to the methodology used by the IMF, increases the state budget deficit—as well as additional expenditures on the state debt, resulting from its reassessment. Those risks are also known to the Slovak Ministry of Finance; we pointed to their existence in the draft state budget for 1993.

Risks of up to 10 percent of the approved budget volume (or 5 percent of gross domestic product) are considered acceptable by the IMF. It insists, however, on the adoption of effective measures that would reduce risks exceeding 10 percent of the volume of the 1993 budget, that is, risks exceeding Sk15 billion, by a minimum of Sk4.5-6 billion.

Specifically, this would mean:

—substantially reducing government reserves for stabilization and for structural changes. (The state budget earmarks Sk2.8 billion for this purpose, the IMF proposes that this sum be cut by Sk1.8 billion),

—postponing investment expenditures and the commencement of new projects and further scaling down projects already under construction (the IMF proposes a cut by Sk1.5-2 billion),

—eliminating the parallel receipt of pensions and of income from gainful employment or entrepreneurial activity for pensioners (the IMF did not quantify the impact of this measure),

—specifically targeting the provision of children's allowances and introducing an income limit for their payment (this measure, which would result in savings of roughly Sk 3 billion, would, according to the IMF, affect 50 percent of all children),

—transferring part of the costs arising during sick leave to employers (this would yield estimated savings of Sk1 billion for the state budget),

—decreasing and postponing the planned wage adjustments in budget-funded and budget-subsidized organizations (assuming a wage increase of 8 percent, instead of 16 percent, as of 1 July 1993, it is possible to obtain about Sk2 billion in this way, if this is accompanied by rationalization measures and staff cuts),

—eliminating state premiums for savers with building and loan associations (maximum possible saving represents approximately Sk300 million),

—cutting subsidies for municipal public transport and railroad and bus transport (the IMF proposes that the sum appropriated in the budget, Sk3.9 billion, be cut by Sk1.8 billion),

—cutting agricultural subsidies by lowering price support, for example (the IMF proposes that the sum projected in the state budget, Sk7.0 billion, be cut by one-third),

—abolishing subsidies for mines and the production of aluminum (the IMF recommends that the Sk0.7 billion appropriated in the state budget be cut by at least 50 percent).

In view of the fact that virtually all the proposed measures concern the very sensitive social sphere, it is beyond the jurisdiction of the Slovak Ministry of Finance to decide on their acceptance or nonacceptance. It is therefore necessary that, in the event of the acceptance of some of these measures, it should be the government that makes the decision. At the same time it needs to be borne in mind that only a few of these measures can be implemented by means of a government resolution, without requiring a legislative solution. Most of these measures require in the very least a change in the law on the state budget and some of them, especially those concerning the social sphere, require changes to other laws, too.

Hungarian Parties' Memorandum on Minorities

AU0503103593 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 Feb 93 p 7

[Annotated "substantial excerpts" from the "Memorandum on the Admission of the Slovak Republic to the Council of Europe" signed by the chairmen of four Hungarian parties in Slovakia: "Utterly Twisted Facts; Four Hungarian Parties' Memorandum on the Admission of the Slovak Republic to the Council of Europe"—"prepared by Martin Krno"]

[Text] At a time when Slovakia's participation in the international integration process is being decided, the chairmen of four Hungarian parties operating in Slovakia—Laszlo A. Nagy (Hungarian Civic Party), Bela Bugar (Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement), Miklos Duray (Coexistence), and Gyula Popely (Hungarian People's Party)—signed the "Memorandum on the Admission of the Slovak Republic to the Council of Europe." Even though this document was not among the four documents that Pal Csaky, chairman of the Club of Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement Deputies to the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR], presented to the chairman of the European Parliament [during a recent visit by a Slovak parliamentary delegation to Strasbourg], it can be understood as a serious attempt to prevent Slovakia's being admitted to pan-European institutions. To the uninitiated, the Slovak Republic appears as a country with an undemocratic regime.

Because the representatives of Hungarian parties complain of having no access to the Slovak mass media, we are publishing substantial excerpts from this memorandum. In the portions in brackets, we draw attention to controversial passages.

Questions of Legitimacy

The fact of the CSFR's demise is undisputed, yet its legitimacy can be challenged because:

1. It did not take place on the basis of a referendum. (Though a referendum on important political issues is the most democratic method of dealing with them, international law does not rule that it is the sole legitimate method.)

2. Instead of a referendum being held, a law was passed that received only two votes more than required. (The number of votes exceeding the set limit, which in this case was a two-thirds majority, has no bearing on the validity and authority of a law.)

3. On 19 January 1993 the NRSR did not approve the incorporation of Federal Assembly deputies [into the Slovak parliament]. Thereby it violated Article Four of the Law on Terminating the CSFR's Existence and, by the same token, cast doubt on the legitimacy of the CSFR's extinction and of the founding of the new states. (The question of transformation of former Federal Assembly deputies into the NRSR still remains open.)

4. As early as 1 September 1992, the Slovak National Council, by adopting the Constitution of the Slovak Republic, took a unilateral step toward the extinction of the federal state. (The CSFR Constitution valid at that time provided for the adoption of constitutions of both federal republics, which was realized only after 24 years of the federation's existence. The transitional and final provisions of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic made the validity of some of its articles conditional upon changes in the CSFR's constitutional arrangement.)

Objections to the Slovak Constitution

5. By its introductory words—"We, the Slovak nation...."—the Constitution resuscitates the idea of a national state and implies the second-rate nature of "national minorities and ethnic groups." This impression is reinforced by some other provisions of the Constitution. (A few lines below, the Constitution of the Slovak Republic states: "together with members of national minorities and ethnic groups living on the territory of the Slovak Republic.")

6. Regarding the rights of minorities, the Constitution contains formulations that are so imprecise that they deliver the national minorities to the mercy of the parliamentary majority. For example, the Slovak language is decreed as the sole state language and the use of other languages is to be regulated by a special law. At the same time the Constitution states that state bodies and self-administration bodies are obligated to provide information in the state language. This excludes the use of the minorities' languages in dealings with the authorities. (Though Article 6 states that Slovak is the state language on the territory of the Slovak Republic, at the same time Article 34 notes that, under conditions defined by a special law, citizens belonging to national minorities and ethnic groups have a guaranteed right to, among other things, education in their own language and the right to use their language in dealings with the authorities.)

7. The Constitution does not explicitly guarantee the existence of schools with a foreign language as the language of instruction. It only permits the founding of educational and cultural institutions, which is not identical with schools. (In the 1991/92 school year, the 299 kindergartens with Hungarian as the language of instruction in the Slovak Republic and the 105 mixed kindergartens—that is, kindergartens containing Slovak as well as Hungarian classes—were attended by 13,182 children of Hungarian nationality. There were 264 Hungarian elementary schools and 28 mixed elementary schools with a total of 47,882 pupils, which was 75.9 percent of all pupils of Hungarian nationality attending elementary schools. The 11 high schools with Hungarian as the language of instruction and the additional 8 mixed high schools were attended by 4,054 students, which was 77.6 percent of all high school students of Hungarian nationality. There are five purely Hungarian secondary vocational schools in the Slovak Republic and another 18 schools of this type maintain separate Hungarian classes. There is no independent Hungarian university in Slovakia but, in addition to the Chair of Hungarian Language and Literature at the Department of Philosophy at Comenius University in Bratislava, there is also a Hungarian department operating under the Nitra Teachers' College where 386 students of Hungarian nationality were studying in the past academic year. A new Department of Minority and Ethnic Cultures will operate in Nitra as of 1 September 1993.)

8. Article 34, paragraph (1), enables national minorities to establish only associations and thereby excludes the possibility of establishing political parties. (A typical example of twisting facts: A different article, 29, paragraph 2, expressly states: "Citizens have the right to establish political parties and political movements and to associate in them." Incidentally, the very existence of the four parties that are signatories to this document confirms that members of national minorities can establish their own parties.)

9. The provisions regarding national minorities and ethnic groups are restrictive. Article 34, paragraph 3, lays the legal foundations for the discrimination of minorities, referring only to them as a disintegrating factor that jeopardizes the rights of the state-forming nation. (This article bans activities conducive to jeopardizing sovereignty and territorial integrity. These are protected by every state. This is particularly understandable with regard to our country, in view of its historical experience.)

10. The Constitution does not guarantee the establishment of larger territorial self-administrative entities. (Article 64, paragraph 3, states that the self-administration of higher territorial units will be established by a special law, which means that it is being counted on.)

11. The Constitution does not guarantee the courts' independence of executive power and the equality of forms of ownership. (According to the Constitution, the Slovak Republic protects and promotes economic competition—Article 55, paragraph 2. It also guarantees the operation of independent and impartial courts—Articles 142 through 148.)

12. It establishes too much scope for changes to democratic decisions, such as, for example, the right of the president to return a law or the right of parliament to change referendum results. (Such provisions are contained also in the constitutions of other democratic states).

Breaches of Law

13. Signs bearing Hungarian place names are being removed forcefully and on a massive scale. (The officially sanctioned removal of signs that had been installed willfully, at variance with valid regulations and laws, cannot be termed forceful.)

14. The use of Hungarian first names is being curbed. (Due to the amended law on registers of birth, which was passed by the federal parliament.)

15. According to the census results, 15.7 percent of the population is of non-Slovak nationality. The state budget discriminates against the minorities' culture and schools, however. The budget of the Ministry of Culture provides for expenditures of 2.6 billion korunas on culture in 1993, of which only 5 percent has been allocated for support of the minorities' cultures. (The claim that 95 percent of the budget for culture is being spent exclusively on Slovaks is unfounded because statewide cultural institutions such as radio, television, theaters, cinemas, galleries, or museums serve also members of the national minorities.)

16. The Slovak Government violated the Constitution because it did not appoint Constitutional Court judges in accordance with its jurisdiction. (The National Council and legal experts have not assumed an unequivocal position on this point.)

Political and Economic Transformation

17. Privatization has slowed down and, one can say, come to a halt. Credit and taxation policies impede private business. This applies also to agriculture, which has a negative impact particularly on Hungarian citizens. The government is slowing down the establishment of an independent banking system and there are signals that it wants to step up the production and sale of weapons. (The repercussions of economic recession do not steer clear of members of the Slovak nation either.)

18. Many high-ranking civil servants in the state administration, among them many Hungarians, have been removed in the wake of the change in government because they did not comply with government decrees that violate laws, are directed against minorities, and restrict rights. (The authors of the memorandum furnish no evidence as to which laws the Slovak Government violated by its decrees. The dismissals of high-ranking civil servants are often questionable, regardless of the nationality aspect.)

19. The state often violates the freedom of the press and the independence of news coverage. The attempt to abolish Trnava University cast doubt on academic freedom. (While it is possible to agree with the statement about Trnava University, the claim about the violation of the freedom of the press would have to be specified.)

New Discrimination of Proprietary Rights

20. The law on extra-judicial rehabilitation does not apply to those who had their property confiscated in the years 1945-48 because of their nationality. (The time limit for restitution claims was clearly set by the former Federal Assembly—25 February 1948.)

21. The land and agricultural property law discriminates against Hungarians, permitting maximum restitution of only 50 hectares to Hungarians while making it possible to return 250 hectares to other citizens. (Law No. 93 of 1992, which amended law No. 229 of 1991, the land law, abolished the limit of 250 hectares for all citizens.)

Required Changes to the Legal System of the Slovak Republic

The Council of Europe ought to check the veracity of the aforementioned facts. We consider it imperative that the Slovak Republic comply with the system of Council of Europe norms as soon as possible.

For this to happen, it is necessary:
a) to bring the Constitution of the Slovak Republic into harmony with the recommendations of the European Parliament meeting of 10 October 1990,
b) to constitutionally guarantee equality of proprietary forms and the courts' independence of executive power,
c) to amend laws and legal norms—the language law, the law on registers of birth, and so forth—that are not in harmony with the above recommendations and with the Agreement on Human Rights and Basic Freedoms.
d) to annul the presidential decrees of the years 1945-48 that discriminate against nations and to change the law on rehabilitation,
e) to eliminate provisions from the land law that discriminate against Hungarian and German citizens,
f) to reassess agreements concluded with other states at the expense of private owners—such as the agreement with Hungary on the repatriation of citizens,
g) to sign the European Charter on Self-Administration and the European Charter on Minority Languages.

We are convinced that, once the shortcomings listed in our memorandum are eliminated and the aforementioned conditions accepted, the Slovak Republic's participation in European integration processes will become possible without any problems. This would be beneficial

both from the viewpoint of all citizens of Slovakia and from the viewpoint of the democratic development of the state.

Pozsony, 4 February 1993. (Pozsony is Bratislava's name from the time of the Hungarian kingdom. Although this name is used in Hungary to this day, the capital of Slovakia is Bratislava.)

Ethnic Hungarian Official Views Minority Issues

AU0603160393 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 2 Mar 93 pp 1,2

[Interview with Miklos Duray, newly elected chairman of the Coexistence Political Movement in Slovakia, by Sandor Neszmeri in Bratislava on 28 February: "Partner-Nation Relations Are the Solution Against Nationalism"]

[Excerpts] The 4th National Conference of the Coexistence Political Movement in Slovakia ended on 28 February. The conference decided to regard the Hungarian minority living in Slovakia as a Hungarian community, and they also want to develop their relations with the Slovaks as a partner-nation. We asked Miklos Duray, the newly elected chairman of the Coexistence Political Movement, to describe this concept.

[Neszmeri] Mr. Duray, beginning 1 March, in your formulation, the Hungarians in Slovakia are no longer a minority but a Hungarian community living in Slovakia. What qualitative change does this mean in the life of Hungarians in Slovakia?

[Duray] This is a qualitative and principled change. It is a qualitative change in the sense that the public thinking has achieved a level that makes it possible for the Hungarians in Slovakia to get rid of the minority awareness, or some kind of limitations and awareness of limitations, that has been fed to them over decades. As a principle, it means that this new formulation opposes the approach of the concept of minority that involved the intention to degrade a national minority. It also opposes the view that dealt with the national minorities as a political minority and regarded them as defeatable by means of voting them down democratically. The formulation "national community" is important on both approaches, because it gives the expression "minority" the real meaning and interprets it exclusively as an expression denoting quantity. [passage omitted]

[Neszmeri] Hungarians are living in more than 500 places in Slovakia. There are places where they form the majority, but there are also villages and mainly small towns where Hungarians have already been forced into a minority. In this respect, how will this partner-nation concept solve the fate of Hungarians here?

[Duray] The concept of partner-nation precisely aims at dealing with this question. I must say that wise men learn from other's mistakes, and we did that. One of the conditions for the international recognition of Croatia was that this country's constitution should deal with the quantitative minority-majority relations. The international community demanded the settling of the Serbian-Croatian relations also when the Croatian majority is in minority in some places and when a minority of Serbs are living in Croatian communities that represent the majority anyway. We developed this further in our concept. There are 435 places in Slovakia with a Hungarian majority; in these places, personal autonomy would be valid for the Slovaks, an autonomy that, in the framework of the local self-government, would guarantee the rights to mother-tongue education and to culture. This would also apply to places where the Slovaks are already the majority and Hungarians are the minority. At the same time, this would also guarantee that, within the local self-government, this personal autonomy be observed on the basis of the principles of mutuality, because of mutual minority interests.

[Neszmeri] However, national states are emerging in our region and a spirit of general lack of understanding is prevailing here. Under such circumstances, what chances do you see for the implementation of this concept?

[Duray] The whole idea came from the concept formulated by the EC. They want a Europe of equal nations without borders. If Eastern-Central Europe wants to participate in this process, this is the only way we can think. Therefore, the only chance for our region is to create a system of partner-nation relations without borders, including the treatment of national minorities as a quantity. From a qualitative viewpoint, this region will have to adopt Western European norms by also encouraging regional cooperation, and the Carpathian Basin will also become a community of equal nations instead of the current region of national states. As for the chances of all this, this can be divided into two parts, and so can the question itself. What is the goal, what can be achieved, and what is it that we can defend? On the basis of the experience of the "velvet revolution" in the CSFR and the experience of our friends in Transylvania and Vojvodina, I dare to say that our proposal is bound to be rejected. However, it is also our common experience that our proposals are discussed occasionally, and various compromise solutions could be accepted. It is clear that this also belongs to the realm of politics and a successful constructive opposition. Presently, the important thing to be able to defend our proposals and concepts. [passage omitted]

President Goncz Meets Russian Entrepreneurs

LD0503131193 Budapest MTI in English 1158 GMT 5 Mar 93

[Text] Budapest, March 5 (MTI)—"Although barter trade is indispensable, both sides are interested in normal business conditions being created as soon as possible," Hungarian President Arpad Goncz said to a delegation from the League of Russian Cooperatives and Entrepreneurs (LRCE) in Budapest on Friday.

Hungary has an interest in the export of production systems and research results to Russia, in addition to the delivery of products, such as medicine, vehicles, and instruments.

LRCE President Vladimir Tihonov thought the drop in Hungarian-Russian trade and links was temporary, and that traffic could improve by involving private companies and entrepreneurs.

Discusses Politics, Foreign Policy

LD0503151693 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1005 GMT 6 Mar 93

[Interview with President Arpad Goncz by correspondent Istvan Wisinger in Kossuth on 6 March—live]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Wisinger] How do you see the internal political situation?

[Goncz] In my opinion, the situation has improved with the marginalization of the extremes. In any event the possibility for dialogue exists and in my opinion the level of hysteria is definitely decreasing, which is perfectly understandable as the pressure of the extreme has been reduced within the governing party. The governing party obviously has to cooperate in some way—particularly in the adoption of the 66 percent laws—with the opposition.

I definitely feel that the political situation has become milder. I feel it is completely understandable that the [election] campaign is starting, or rather preparations for the campaign are starting, that the parties are searching for their potential positions. [passage omitted]

I very much hope that it will be impossible to repeat the negative campaign which characterized previous elections. The country's mood is unequivocally moving towards peace and moderation. Whoever tries to repeat this will only harm themselves. [passage omitted]

[Wisinger] You also used the word dialogue. A disquieting aspect to this for me, is that tacitly or out loud, they speak more and more often about the need for Hungarian-Hungarian dialogue, and there are examples of this. Is this what we have come to? That a Hungarian does not understand Hungarian speech?

[Goncz] Let us perhaps try to define Hungarian. [passage omitted]

If we define it as the need for dialogue between all citizens of Hungary, then we need dialogue between Hungarians and the minorities, which is something we would very much like to see now. There is nothing I would like better than a nationality law, minority law, which is based on the agreement of minorities, and the necessity of which I feel abroad everywhere, because everywhere, even down to Portugal, the lack of this is pointed out to me. [passage omitted]

[Goncz] [passage omitted] The dialogue in Kisujszallas, which ultimately was viewed as the continuation of the (?final word), was very useful in all kinds of ways. The composition [of participants] was very varied. The collective term popular [nepi) is so wide it incorporates many things. In my opinion the fact that several kinds of views were voiced there and they tried to define this concept which is very hard to define—the character of popular political activity—was definitely useful, and it is not moving towards the extremes, but it gave precisely the opportunity for cleansing within the group threatened with most extremes. [passage omitted]

[Wisinger] [passage omitted] The media war is continuing. According to the government's interpretation, tomorrow the public servant status of the radio and television presidents expire, because they resigned. I quote from today's NEPSZABADSAG and Csaba Gombar [outgoing radio president]: I have just received notice that my legal status expires on 6 March. I must vacate my office at the radio. I will not, however, do anything until the republic president signs the paper relieving me of office. [passage omitted]

Have you decided yet when you will accept, or whether you will, the request for the relief of office? [passage omitted].

[Goncz] I have not decided. [passage omitted]

[Wisinger] Here is a question about serving justice. This is a law which parliament adopted—it now awaits signature. You, in a conversation at the beginning of the year with representatives of the organizations involved in the affair of serving justice, signaled that you would ask for the Constitutional Court's opinion before signing. Where does the matter stand?

[Goncz] It went over to the Constitutional Court yesterday afternoon [5 March]. [passage omitted]

The issue deeply affects the public mood and I feel that this approximately two week delay in the promulgation—or possible non- promulgation—of the law is worth in any case more than the promulgation of a possibly unconstitutional law—lest the latter is implemented and only then would turn out in practice that it is unsuitable. [passage omitted]

[Wisinger] The parliament adopted the law on the basic defense principles of the Army. [passage omitted]

At the same time, a deputy of a government party was probing in GLOBUS the question of the need to bring

into line Hungarian military intentions with the strength and size of the Army. There is also a good deal of debate about the staffing level of the Army and its organizational form, i.e. professional versus conscript based. How do you see this issue as the commander in chief of the Army?

[Goncz] [Passage omitted] I consider the report in Globus incredibly irresponsible. An unbelievable irresponsibility which narrows the scope of Hungarian foreign policy. Let's put this aside—it is not worth speaking about it too much. If a thinking person reads this in this form he cannot say anything else. He [Csurka] has stirred up a hornet's nest.

The operation of an army is influenced by three important factors: area, time, and strength. I would also add that its size is influenced by the country's economic means. I would also list among these factors the potential threats it faces.

It is not worth it to set up an army which is bigger than necessary to restrain, remove, or possibly to the restrain without action a potential threat. [passage omitted]

A small country cannot set up a fully professional [zsoldos] army because it is very expensive. [passage omitted]

This must, inevitably, be complemented by well-equipped territorial units which can hold a potential attack—I am not now saying that there will be one—until the quick mobile formations arrive and then overcome. The armament of these territorial units is obviously different. For this there is a need for mined routes, passive defense, active defense, appropriate antitank rocketry, and low-level air defense capacity, enormous knowledge of the local terraine, and a motivation which enables the defense of the home village and his own and his mother's home. [passage omitted]

The task is not easy. [passage omitted]

It is enormously difficult and enormously expensive to leave one armament system and change over to another one. All the more because when we change over to another system we then are committed to that supplier and become dependent. Currently there is Russian armament. It is cheaper to complement and possibly refresh the Russian one than to change over to a completely different armament. As long as this weapon system is working, this one has proven that it is suitable for warfare, it should not be replaced—in my view. [passage omitted]

It is another question that the Army's situation must be sorted out. Presently young officers live in completely impossible living circumstances. Troops have been redeployed in accordance with the new defense principles. Many young officers were moved to places where they have no home, a huge number lives in single rooms in the barrack together with their families, and on occasion separated from their families. Many wives are left unemployed, children had to change schools. [passage omitted]

People who may—at any moment—be in a position when they must defend the country's border must be paid and be given living conditions for which it is worth for them to be soldiers, to train themselves further. [passage omitted]

This is a political question, a question of decision. [passage omitted]

[Wisinger] Let us turn to foreign policy. [passage omitted]

[Goncz] Well, it is a very special animal. I hold the umbrella [laughs] and others hold the politics under the umbrella when it comes to that. [passage omitted]

In respect of the visit to Portugal, Thailand, Malaysia, the aim was special, i.e. that we should extend the space for expansion of the Hungarian economy outside the usual radius, to implement in practice the so-called multiple strands. In Portugal the aim was, on the one hand, to obtain their sympathy and support for Hungary's membership in EC. This, however unbelievable, is a question not of considerations but, largely, of persuasion and personal contacts, the latter means a lot. The other aim was to open joint ventures with Portugal in areas—mistily remote for me—like the Maghreb states, ex-Portuguese colonies, South Africa. Portugal is a member of the EC which is developing at a respectable rhythm. It is threatened—and, naturally it is in its interest as well—that the cake, given its size which is unchanged for the time being—should not be cut into a greater number of slices. Thus we must persuade them that if we get in [words indistinct], the cake will be larger and they too get more out of it. [passage omitted]

[Wisinger] Recently you went to Prague and Bratislava for the inauguration of the presidents. For me, and for the listener as well I think, it is most interesting that we know you met Slovak Prime Minister Meciar and probably discussed the Gabcikovo dam project. It seems that this issue reached a stalemate.

[Goncz] I do think that it got into a blind alley. [passage omitted]

I had the impression during the conversation—his wife was there but no experts—that their relations with the EC are very important for them, just like our relations with the EC. [passage omitted]

Meciar said—and it is the first time that I heard this from him in this way—that the Slovak-Hungarian relationship must not be made dependent on Gabcikovo. He said this word for word. [passage omitted]

I also noticed very clearly the recognition, which is not a publicly known recognition, that Slovak-Hungarian relations are very important. It is perfectly comprehensible that there in every official manifestation the Czech lands

were the most important—but Hungary was mentioned always as number two. I received singled out attention which was addressed not to my person but to Hungary. [passage omitted]

Spokesman Denies Secret Meeting With RMDSz

LD0503163593 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1500 GMT 5 Mar 93

[Text] Today Foreign Ministry spokesman Janos Herman described as absurd the article which appeared in the paper LIBERTATEA, according to which the Hungarian foreign minister held secret consultations with the leaders of the Democratic Federation of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSz]. The spokesman said that the talks between the Hungarian Government and the RMDSz delegation which had been in Budapest had been open. LIBERTATEA had alleged that [Hungarian Foreign Minister] Geza Jeszenszky had announced that either Romania accepts the autonomy and self-determination of the Hungarians [in Romania] or they would expose themselves to nationality conflicts of the Bosnian-type.

Foreign Affairs Officials View Security Principles

AU0503203193 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 3 Mar 93 p 3

[Interview with Foreign Affairs Minister Geza Jeszenszky and Laszlo Kovacs, chairman of the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee, by Tibor Eszes; place and date not given: "Security Policy Message to Our Neighbors—Geza Jeszenszky and Laszlo Kovacs on the Principles That Were Accepted With a Consensus"]

[Text] [Eszes] Are the Hungarian security policy principles primarily meant for domestic or foreign consumption?

[Jeszenszky] It is very important that we formulated the basic principles of the security policy of the Hungarian foreign policy and of the Hungarian people. All this is also meant for abroad, it is an apt six-party reply to the accusation that Hungary contributes to the region's instability in any form. Precisely the opposite is true. The accepted document also emphasizes that we wish to ensure the peace and security of Hungary, the Hungarian nation, and our whole environment in close cooperation with the international institutions, by integrating into the Western institutions, working together with the neighbors, and also helping their integration. We also emphasize that this has many components, and this is why we talk about cooperative security.

The ultima ratio, that is, the armed forces, are also mentioned—at the end of the document. In today's Europe, it is mainly through political means and cooperation that our security has to be maintained, a possible attack or environmental catastrophe averted, and the stability of our whole region has to be ensured (including the favorable atmosphere for investments). Trust is one of the keys to the future of this region, and this concept also wants to strengthen this. This is one of the reasons I very much hope that it will also receive the necessary attention abroad.

[Eszes] What is the significance of the enacted security policy principles in your view?

[Kovacs] The document we accepted is crucially important in our region's complicated situation. It is vitally important for the government and legislation to precisely define the means it wants to use to ensure Hungary's security. This also has a kind of message for the neighbors because they can deduce Hungary's intentions from this. This is a message that strengthens our neighbors' sense of security. It states that Hungary places military force in the last place among its possible security policy measures.

[Eszes] What period of time are these principles meant for, and how possible is it to implement them?

[Kovacs] In my view, this document is lasting and can be implemented. It is known that the drafting began in the Foreign Ministry two years ago, and their proposals were turned down on three occasions. The flaw in them was the fact that they captured a momentary situation of the security policy environment and tried to draw up answers to that. On all occasions, by the time the proposal reached Parliament from the Foreign Ministry via the government's approval, some development upset this situation in our neighborhood.... However, the current one indeed lays down basic principles and our goals.

[Eszes] What are its most important points?

[Kovacs] According to the Hungarian thinking, our security is indivisible, meaning that it cannot be divided from our narrow or broad environment. Security in our view is a complex notion: In addition to the military ones, political, economic, social, and human rights viewpoints are also determining. In our current world, the security of none of the countries can be based on isolation, antagonism, nor even rivalry: It is only possible to strengthen security together with others, rather than to the detriment of others. We do not have a predetermined enemy image: We consider everyone as partners until their intentions are proved otherwise by their actions. For this reason, we are only considering the security policy risks that stem from the instability connected to centuries-old, decades-old, and current reasons in the neighboring region. This is a quality different from the former concept of the Warsaw Pact, which said that the forces had to be grouped in a given direction.... If Hungary becomes a full member of the EC, it will participate in formulating and implementing the common foreign and security policy. At that time, being part of the West European Union will be undoubted—and this will already provide direct security guarantees we do not yet have. This also applies to NATO. However, while we are in the process of setting up these relations, we can only take these into account as indirect security guarantees.

[Eszes] In the debate, full support was given to the principle that states that the way the fate of the Hungarian minority progresses in a given neighboring country will have great influence on bilateral relations.

[Kovacs] The example of Yugoslavia also proves that the violation of national and ethnic minority rights can endanger the whole region. However, we cannot agree with the view, either, that the national minority issue should be the only criterion in Hungary's relations with any other neighboring country. Anyone who narrows relations to this issue, whether he likes it or not, will strengthen the nationalist tendencies in the neighboring countries and will not in the least help the interests of Hungarians who are living there.

Fur Comments on 'Democratic' Alteration of Borders

LD0803112393 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0600 GMT 8 Mar 93

[Excerpt] Seventy years ago, the Croatian-speaking inhabitants of Szentpeterfa, County Vas, pledged their loyalty to Hungary. A ceremony was held along the western border to mark this occasion. The speaker was Defense Minister Lajos Fur. Zoltan Gyore reports.

The Hungarian Government professes what was signed by every European state in 1975: we reject every form of altering borders by force, and we reject the system, method of wiping out, cleansing different linguistic groups of people, Defense Minister Fur said at the commemorative ceremony held in Szentpeterfa, County Vas, along the Hungarian-Austrian border. He spoke about the peace diktat of Trianon [post-World War I peace traty], which was so unjust for our country, and said that however much power interests dictate, if there is a readiness, then the fate of people and groups of peoples and the alteration of borders can also be decided through an understanding between neighbors, through negotiations and democratic means too, mentioning, by way of example, the solution by referendum 70 years ago. [passage omitted]

Defense Official on Army Development, Tasks

AU0503204193 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 3 Mar 93 p 5

["F.S."-signed interview with Defense Ministry Political State Secretary Laszlo Szendrei; place and date not given: "A Modern National Army Should Defend Hungary"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [UJ MAGYARORSZAG] Essentially, what kind of an army do you envisage for Hungary?

[Szendrei] I regard it as my major task to reorganize the Hungarian Army into a modern national army according to European norms in the foreseeable future, an army that our population regards as its own. It is my firm opinion that the Army belongs to the nation and not to the government coalition.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] In your opinion, in its current state, is the Hungarian Army capable of fulfilling its defense tasks? There are people who claim that the Hungarian Army is a paper tiger that would not be able to hold off a serious attack for even 24 hours....

[Szendrei] It would be better for these persons not to have to find out that this is not so....

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] However, certain political circles of some neighboring countries suggest that the Hungarian Army is "too strong," and thus it is threatening the security of its neighbors.

[Szendrei] The international agreement on the conventional armed forces in Europe, an agreement that contains precise quotas for the armies of various countries both regarding size and equipment, also applies to the Hungarian Army. There are some types of weapons of which the Hungarian Army has greater quantities that stipulated by the agreements, but these are mostly obsolete weapons waiting to be scraped. Regarding the modern combat aircraft, for example, we have much fewer aircraft that allowed. The same applies to modern armored vehicles. Thus, the claim that the Hungarian Army is stronger than the armies of the neighboring countries is not realistic.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] Yes but, strangely enough, people both here and abroad claim that the Hungarian Army could become "disproportionately" stronger as a result of the ongoing weapons purchase negotiations with the Russian and German Governments....

[Szendrei] All I can say to this is that these negotiations have not yet achieved results. These negotiations are primarily aimed at guaranteeing the supply of spare parts to existing weapons. Even so, we would not reach the level of Slovakia, for example, with its population of 5 million people, not to mention small Yugoslavia which already has types of Soviet combat aircraft in operation that we would want to purchase now, but much fewer than they have. The situation is similar in Romania.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] In view of all this, do we have to fear a possible attack?

[Szendrei] I think that, under the current political circumstances, and in view of our neighbors' economic situation, the Hungarian Army has sufficient power to repel a noncoordinated attack or to prevent any thoughtless smaller action on the part of anyone.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] Has the threat increased against Hungary in the wake of the U.S. action of humanitarian aid to Bosnia?

[Szendrei] In my opinion, it has not, because the Hungarian Government has repeatedly assured the leadership of small Yugoslavia that Hungary does not want to

interfere in the conflict of the peoples living in the territory of the former Yugoslavia in any way whatsoever and under any circumstances. Naturally, we are constantly observing and analyzing the events and the steps and declarations of the Yugoslav political and military leaders.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] As for the future of the Hungarian Army, the Defense Ministry will submit the long-term development concept to the government by the middle of 1993. What can you tell us about this?

[Szendrei] This is still very schematic material. Our main goal is to create a modern professional army in several stages. The duration of implementation basically depends on the developments in Hungary's economic situation. It also depends on whether we succeed in coming to an agreement on the GDP [gross domestic product] percentage our budget intends to provide to the Hungarian Army annually. If we have that, we will then be able to make long-term plans on the development, supply, training, and technical modernization of our army. I very much hope that most political forces seriously think that the Hungarian Army belongs to the Hungarian Republic, and we must do everything to make this army capable of fulfilling its mission, namely to defend our country, no matter what government is in power.

Albanian Minister Views Balkans, Kosovo Situation

AU0503180393 Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 2 Mar 93 p 2

[Interview with Albanian Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi by Istvan L. Gulyas in Budapest on 1 March: "Kosovo, the Powder Keg"]

[Text] Albania is conducting an open foreign policy, and this also applies to issues connected with the Yugoslav crisis—Albanian Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi pointed out at a news conference held in Budapest on 1 March. At the same time, he declared that the Serbian policy led by Slobodan Milosevic was based on a war psychosis, and this was unacceptable. Alfred Serreqi expressed his concern about the fact that the Serbian president seems to have strengthened his legitimacy in the international forums lately. Alfred Serreqi also answered PESTI HIRLAP questions.

[Gulyas] It seems that Albanian diplomacy attaches considerable importance to its relations with Hungary. Your current visit, after the recent visit of the deputy chairman of the Albanian Parliament, seems to also justify this. Does this interest derive from the fact that Tirana and Budapest have similar views regarding the minorities in Yugoslavia?

[Serreqi] Albanian foreign policy completely got rid of all kinds of prejudices and also of the illusion that, by getting rid of the communist oppression, the countries in central-eastern Europe would provide humanitarian help to us. Our two basic goals are the following: To accelerate the democratic reforms in Albania and to find an acceptable solution to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. In this policy, we must primarily look toward countries that we regard as our natural allies. This description is determined by a lot of factors. The minority issue you mentioned before, namely that both our countries are interested in a solution to the Yugoslav crisis as soon as possible, is a very important factor that promotes our relations and urges us to cooperate. At the same time, we should not forget the friendly historical past, either. Albania needs the Hungarian experiences, because Hungary is ahead of us on the road of reforms. All these things together justify the fruitful bilateral relations. In addition to the political level, this applies to all the areas of life, including the economy and culture.

[Gulyas] Unfortunately, one can suspect for some time that, even if the crisis in Bosnia is somehow settled, the next stage of the Yugoslav war will be Kosovo inhabited by Albanians. In the case of a bloody armed ethnic cleansing, can you envisage Albanian help to Kosovo, one that exceeds help on diplomatic level only?

[Serreqi] Kosovo is the main source of concern for the Albanian democratic government. This explains the steadiness with which we struggle for UN peace-keeping forces in Kosovo. I am sure that any possible interference in Kosovo on the part of Albania would lead to an escalation that would result in the breaking up of a broad conflict in the Balkans. Fighting could force even 300,000 Albanians to flee their homeland, and in addition, the Serbian troops would continue to harass them. In such a case, can you imagine that interference from Albanians would depend on the government?

Walesa To Meet Clinton in April

LD0803112593 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1000 GMT 8 Mar 93

[Text] President Lech Walesa will meet president Bill Clinton in the second half of April in Washington. Walesa is going to Washington to take part in the opening of the Holocaust Museum. In a letter sent to Warsaw by the White House, the hope has been expressed that a meeting of both presidents will take place during that time.

Central Bank Head Denies Plans to Devalue Zloty

LD0603211493 Warsaw PAP in English 2009 GMT 6 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 6—Despite contrary rumours in recent days which have caused a sharp rise in the value of the U.S. dollar at the private currency exchange offices, the National Bank of Poland (NBP) has no plans to implement a sharp devaluation of the Polish zloty, NBP President Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz said on Saturday [6 March].

In an interview for Warsaw's "Eska" radio station, the NBP president said that "the NBP has no intention of sharply devaluing the zloty, although, as NBP president I can never completely rule out the possibility." She added that pressure from the private currency dealers, who in Warsaw on Friday posted selling prices for the U.S. dollar at !7,000 zlotys, would have no effect on any exchange-rate decisions.

Asked to comment on long-awaited proposals to redenominate the zloty, which was to have been introduced in January 1993, Ms. Gronkiewicz-Waltz said that a lack of synchronisation between the NBP and the Finance Ministry had caused deferment of the proposals. She predicted that it would now most likely occur at the beginning of 1994.

Under the proposals, the Polish zloty would be "redenominated" by losing several noughts from its nominal value. Following a period of hyperinflation, simple items such as a public transport ticket now cost several thousands, and weekend shopping bills run to hundreds of thousands of zlotys, if not millions. The number of banknotes of different denominations in circulation has risen accordingly. "There is no way we can now cope with such a large quantity," said Ms. Gronkiewicz-Waltz.

Official Confirms No 'Claims' Against Lithuania

LD0503183793 Warsaw PAP in English 1803 GMT 5 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 5—Foreign Ministry's spokesman Grzegorz Dziemidowicz on Friday [5 March] confirmed earlier statement by Polish Ambassador to Lithuania Jan Widacki that "Poland has no overt or secret territorial claims against Lithuania."

Widacki had said so to a Vilnius-based radio "Znad Vilii" which asked him to comment on the previous statement by leader of the Lithuanian Centre Movement Romualdas Ozolas who had said that Lithuania must be careful in relations with Poland because Poland continues to cherish territorial claims, although these are not made officially.

Widacki also said that Poland makes no such claims against any other country and one of the basic principles of Polish foreign policy is inviolability of borders. The ambassador recalled that the highest-ranking Polish leaders had declared this fact many times and it is quite clearly stated in the Polish-Lithuanian declaration signed in 1992.

Farmers Union Mounts Protest March in Warsaw

LD0803112293 Warsaw PAP in English 1104 GMT 8 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 8—Members of the Solidarity of Private Farmers started a protest March here Monday [8 March] morning to demand the liquidation of the Agricultural Property Agency of the State Treasury and the limitation of food imports. They set out from the Warsaw headquarters of the National Council of this union.

The demonstrators plan to March to the Sejm building, the Agricultural Property Agency, the Cabinet Office and the Belvedere Palace and end their protest in front of the Ministry of Environment, Protection, Natural Resources and Forestry where an extraordinary session of the union's National Council is taking place today.

Uranium 238, Uranium Oxide Seized in Arrest

LD0603213393 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1830 GMT 6 Mar 93

[Text] Last night in the tricity area [Gdansk-Gdynia-Sopot] officers from the State Protection Office caught red-handed and arrested dealers in radioactive materials. Six kg of uranium 238 and half a kg of strongly radioactive uranium oxide were confiscated.

King Mihai Views Elections, Monarchist Parties

AU0703133993 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 26 Feb 93 p 3

["Part one" of interview with former King Mihai I by Mircea Ciobanu; place and date not given: "Political Capital Was Gained at Easter, Which the Opposition Parties Did Not Know What To Do With..."]

[Excerpts] [Ciobanu] Sire, the elections are over, all procedures connected with the inauguration of the president and the new government are finished. Therefore, the current political system has everything required to function. Do you believe that the elections were truly free?

[Mihai] The opposition had quite a few objections about the way in which the elections were held. At least, they let it be understood that they have more than enough reasons to contest them. Nevertheless, their objections remained without consequences. [passage omitted] Anyhow, in this campaign, people lied more than in the other one. Where there is lying, there can be no freedom. Romania will only have free elections when no man or political group can profit from lies. By that I mean that the day must also come for us, the Romanians, when the politicians will be ashamed to fan the ignorance of the voters in order to profit from it.

No end can be as noble as to justify its attainment by disreputable means. [passage omitted] Nothing can be built on lies. That is why the communist regimes have failed. [passage omitted] No matter how much energy is spent, the plans for a communist restoration will only be fulfilled for a very short time.

Right now, I watch with concern how disorder is turned into an argument in favor of dictatorship.

[Ciobanu] One of the main reasons given for turning down your visa application for the visit scheduled for last August was that your presence would have affected the campaign.

[Mihai] Yes, that is what I was told. [passage omitted]

[Ciobanu] So, you were warned about "confrontations" on the issue of monarchy.

[Mihai] Yes, although the form of government was not supposed to be the subject of the electoral campaign. Still, had one known that a good part of the energy of the rulers and their press would be devoted to this, my presence in the country would have been all the more necessary. Was it fair for me not to be present during such a confrontation, while all the representatives of the republic imposed by the Russians were present and able to say anything? Anyhow, with the communists, all slanders without reply become state policy. It was obvious that they planned to highlight the monarchy issue as an aggressive, two-edged instrument aimed against us and the democratic opposition. [passage omitted] In my opinion, the anti-monarchists worked systematically: They had an idea which they pushed effectively. The Democratic Convention [CDR] was put on the defensive, and it defended itself in a pretty confused way. At least on this issue, the CDR took no offensive steps whatsoever. [passage omitted]

[Ciobanu] Sire, let us dwell on this subject a little longer. How does the movement for the restoration of communism reveal itself?

[Mihai] By the very fact that the powers in Bucharest are claiming everywhere that they want to enter Europe, but simultaneously permit the kind of irregularities that make such admission impossible. [passage omitted] The communists and their followers everywhere have no complexes. They want to keep Romania away from European political and economic attitudes, so that they can perpetuate themselves in power. Their only chance is in an isolated, economically weak, and disorganized Romania, devoid of institutions that can be found in the West. [passage omitted] Before the revolution, I was only a relatively distant danger to them since the Soviet Union gave them guarantees of long-term stability. Now, I have am their primary threat once again, because the monarchy is the only alternative to communism's efforts to survive.

I believe that the united opposition lost the elections because some of its representatives permitted their adversaries to force them to declare to the nation that they are not monarchists but republicans. Of course, they lost ground for other reasons, but no one can say that they made a good impression.

Likewise, nothing was done to associate me with the CDR.

[Ciobanu] The other day, you told me that a series of mistakes was made in the period immediately after Your Majesty's visit to Romania. Would you like to elaborate on that?

[Mihai] Yes. When I stepped on Romanian soil, a wonder happened, which proved that the people have long memories. The Romanian people remembered their kings. They saw with their own eyes the difference between us and the communists that hated and mocked them. Many people talked with me directly, without any go-betweens. Learning of my intention to come home for Easter, certain representatives of pro-monarchy parties expressed their disagreement, saying that that was not the right time to visit and so forth. They did not understand that I was not coming home for the sake of any specific party and that they cannot decide on the relationship between me and the people.

Political capital was made at Easter which the opposition parties did not know how to use. [passage omitted] They should have realized that the time may come when this capital will hurt them if they do not assume full responsibility for it, although no one has asked them to do it. If one does not fully stand behind them, certain gestures can become dangerous. That is why, soon afterward,

instead of struggling to convince the electorate, they wasted time and energy in thwarting attacks and making their dissociation from monarchy credible.

[Ciobanu] Sire, in the plethora of political parties established after December 1989, there are several that call themselves monarchist.

[Mihai] I would like to be clearly understood on this subject. Personally, I do not think that there should be monarchist parties in the country. This might suggest that I can be the patron of a given political group and dictate its platform. There can hardly be anything worse than that. [passage omitted] I have already said in the past that the activities of these parties do not have my consent. I repeat, nothing of what these parties are doing or will do in the future has my approval. [passage omitted]

Calls Government 'Communist Relics'

AU0703135993 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 27 Feb 93 p 3

["Part two" of interview with former King Mihai I by Mircea Ciobanu; place and date not given: "The Large Estates, About Which There Has Been So Much Talk, Were Reconstructed by the Communists as State Farms"]

[Excerpts] [Ciobanu] What about the land ownership certificates distributed to the peasants?

[Mihai I] The Constitution says that the right to ownership is guaranteed and that property is protected. What the peasants received in those ownership certificates would have had some value if the Constitution had stipulated that property is guaranteed. What is the meaning of property being protected? There is no insurance for the people, just words that can be interpreted to mean anything. [passage omitted] Some of the peasants have not received any land at all. The others who did do not know whether their ownership certificates are legal or can be canceled by a new law.

What are they saying about me? That I will give back the estates, that I will leave the peasants at the mercy of the rich, to exploit them again—all these scare tactics by the communists. [passage omitted] The Romanian peasant should be reminded that the so-called great estates disappeared between the wars. I do not know what is meant when reference is made to the great estates. Large estates of thousands of hectares did exist, but only before King Ferdinand's reforms. After Ferdinand distributed thousands of hectares of land, no one could talk about large estates. Even my grandfather gave away much of the royal lands. All peasants should realize that the Romanian kings have always taken the side of the peasantry. [passage omitted]

As for our peasants, some are happy that they were given land. Honestly, one should say that they were returned the land taken from them. Here, confusion is being created on purpose. What does it mean: Iliescu gave us land? No one gave anybody anything. At best, restitution has occurred. [passage omitted]

Where did the peasants get their land? From state property. Is it worth mentioning that the Romanian state had not owned much land before? No. After the communist takeover, the state took possession of the lands stolen from the people. The large estates, about which there has been so much talk, were reconstructed by the communists as state farms. What is the state doing today, after the revolution? It is distributing what it stole yesterday to whomever it wants and as it wants, while keeping the best plots for itself as any owner would do. These are simple facts, unfortunately too simple. The Romanians would be well advised to remember that the goal of the Soviets was to take hold of the country and rob it at will, without fear of having to account to anyone. This could not happen without nationalization, and nationalization could not be done in my presence. After the 30 December 1947 coup d'etat, the next step that marked Romania's full sale to foreign interests was the June 1948 nationalization.

[Ciobanu] This subject is still being hushed up.

[Mihai] Nothing is being done to denounce it and its consequences. For the rulers, this silence means consent. For the others, it is proof that they have not awakened fully yet. [passage omitted]

[Ciobanu] In the last three years, since you were not able to address the Romanian people people, you did so through the news media. Those who carefully listened to or read these messages were able to note that, aside from Your Majesty's desire to communicate with the people, you have firm opinions on how the country can be rebuilt.

[Mihai] Indeed, it is increasingly more difficult for me to watch the suffering of my people, knowing that there are ways that can take the country out of this impasse other than the ways proposed by the communist dignitaries for their own salvation. Therefore, it is my duty to inform the Romanian people that today's rulers have turned the transition period into a nightmare in order to divert the search for solutions toward a revaluation of the communist past. They are the first to know that this path leads to disaster. They are still at the helm because they hope to save themselves at the last moment, as they did during the December 1989 events.

[Ciobanu] Do you think that the elections were won by those with more realistic platforms?

[Mihai I] At the time of the elections I said that the winner was not going to be decided by one platform or another. Most reflected a populist nature. The left did not win because it had a better organized party or a better economic plan than others. The winners were those who had the money, institutions, and people interested at keeping things at a standstill. The gimmicks won. If Romania finds its way into the European

economy, what will happen to the current rulers with their attitude? They will appear—before the Romanians, who see and compare—as communist relics and pompous failures.

Calls for National Unity

AU0703141693 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 1 Mar 93 p 3

["Part three" of interview with former King Mihai I by Mircea Ciobanu; place and date not given: "The Transition Does Not Justify the Misery"]

[Excerpts] [Ciobanu] You have said that you feel the urge to express your options to all Romanians. Are you considering drafting a platform?

[Mihai] No. That is not my role, one that belongs exclusively to governments. What I am thinking of is a presentation of principles.

For this purpose, I want to take this opportunity to appeal to all who want to lend a helping hand in rebuilding the country. I am speaking of specialists from all areas whose realistic views find no place in the priorities of those in power. Through them, I want to prove to the entire nation that the sacred principle of property forms the foundation of any society that does not want to adjust its development laws to political slogans.

We realize how serious the situation is because three years have elapsed since the country could have embarked on the right road, and there is still no report on its social, economic, political, and cultural situation. Nothing can be build on the basis of confusion. [passage omitted]

My appeal is not a political move. My goal is not to resolve my situation, but that of the country. [passage omitted] My appeal calls on all people characterized by proficiency in their particular fields—Romanians at home and abroad, irrespective of age and religious or political convictions. Through them the nation will be briefed about everything that is really and truly happening in agriculture, industry, education, health, religion, the Army, and so forth.

I want to stress that this forum of experts should focus on seeking the most effective means to pass through this transition period in a dignified way. The transition does not justify the misery. [passage omitted] Coming up with urgent measures is a current requirement so that the end of the transition period will not mark even greater losses. Along with this crisis program, it is necessary to draft realistic programs for the future.

The communists used to draft utopias. [passage omitted] We want to begin by becoming acquainted with truth, no matter how painful it may be. To offer ambiguity today means nothing but a reprehensible lack of patriotism.

The country's isolation, which is sought through actions contradicting the demagogic statements by the executive branch about Romania's European integration, is very dangerous. Another goal of our appeal is to unmask this danger. The time has come for all Romanians to be told that it is easier for Romania to return to communism than to make resolute efforts toward building democracy. [passage omitted] Only true experts are able to look truth straight in the face. I, for one, favor knowing the very depth of what is wrong. Thus we would come up with genuine solutions and the tendency—inherited from the communists—to cover up things that are not pleasing to the eye or that put foreigners off would be eliminated. As for the collectivist mentality, which hampers individual initiative, it must also be abandoned. [passage omitted]

The time has come for Romanians to not squander their trust on those who have never kept their promises. Those who want to respond to my appeal have to know that no one has the right to make false promises to the people. [passage omitted]

What are the most appropriate ways and means to ensure that people no longer live with the conviction that no one is thinking of them? This question has to be answered by the experts. I feel obliged to defend the simple man, because he is the most vulnerable and the easiest to injure. [passage omitted]

Those who do not have the fatherland's nor our well-being at heart, present the monarchy and democracy as two contradictory concepts. The truth is that now and in the future, constitutional monarchy represents the most secure support for democracy. Constitutional monarchy was born through the Romanian desire for democracy. It will continue to defend the historic rights to freedom and dignity.

[Ciobanu] Sire, the transition is a stage that cannot be bypassed. The tendency to circumvent it is the best proof that they want to restore the former system. The only thing to discuss is the duration of the transition process.

[Mihai] For the country's sake, I visualize as short a transition as possible—of course, one should not exaggerate either. [passage omitted]

[Ciobanu] The way you broach the issue of rebuilding the economy could give the impression that Your Majesty is pushing politics to the background of the major concerns.

[Mihai] Not at all! In this proposed study, the organization of our political structure will play an important role. I want it to be clear that present-day politics proves that the status quo cannot go beyond a certain level of maturity.

[Ciobanu] How does this manifest itself?

[Mihai] Through the fact that the few directions of thought that can unite all political forces have not yet

been found. For three years politicians have been splitting into new parties instead of uniting. This is to the advantage of the executive branch. I am afraid that the need to unite will arise when it is too late. [passage omitted] At the beginning, the Democratic Convention promptly responded to the nation's tendency toward unity. One can start from here. This is the best road.

Comments on Constitution, MFN

AU0703144093 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 2 Mar 93 p 3

["Part four" and final installment of interview with former King Mihai I by Mircea Ciobanu; place and date not given: "Due to the Lengthy Lack of Political Activity, the Opposition's Current Failings Seem Normal Compared With the Abnormal Ability of the Executive Branch To Create Chaos"]

[Excerpts] [Ciobanu] Some people contend that the opposition is to blame for everything that is currently wrong.

[Mihai] This is not what I wanted to convey when I said that, for the time being, the opposition is not a force to be used by the executive branch. Those who now claim that everything is the fault of the opposition were probably used to living under the leadership of a single party, and now they do not know whom to blame for their misfortune. As a matter of fact, the same insinuations come from those in power when they say that the opposition does not let them work in peace and quiet! [passage omitted] Anyhow, due to the lengthy lack of political activity, the opposition's current failings seem normal compared with the abnormal ability of the executive branch to create chaos. I am convinced, however, that the democratic forces will soon recover. Romanians dislike discord, they want unity. This is what I want to emphasize above all.

[Ciobanu] According to one of Your Majesty's former statements, there was a great deal of talk about your desire to come to Romania, no matter how, in order to help the reconstruction process.

[Mihai] I said that at a time when the country was going through an economic and political crisis, and I want to repeat it now that this crisis has intensified. It is for this purpose that I called on all Romanians who feel able to lend a helping hand in this respect.

[Ciobanu] This statement was understood in every way you can imagine. What do you think of the way the National Liberal Party interpreted it when it proposed you as their presidential candidate?

[Mihai] Some explanations are needed. I do not think that the entire Liberal Party proposed me, just a few people. [passage omitted] I cannot be the candidate of any party. [passage omitted] Although there were also people who are familiar with the law among those who came up with this proposal, they did not realize that had I accepted this candidacy I also would have endorsed the current government formula. To put myself in such an ambiguous situation would not have benefited anyone. The 1923 Constitution—the best one of all—was reinstated in 1944 and I live to see it reintroduced again. [passage omitted]

[Ciobanu] Sire, it is known that prior to the elections you received numerous politicians, including some of the party leaders.

[Mihai] Yes. I talked with them. They seemed interested in the destiny of the country and they wanted to express their opinions about the current situation. Some were optimistic and talked about the country's future in the most encouraging terms.

[Ciobanu] What about after the elections?

[Mihai] There was nothing after the elections. I received nothing from them directly.

[Ciobanu] They did not return to Versoix?

[Mihai] No.

[Ciobanu] Can you guess why?

[Mihai] No. They had their reasons which they did not communicate to anyone. I do not want to speculate. [passage omitted]

[Ciobanu] Sire, have you read the current Constitution?

[Mihai] Yes, I have read it.

[Ciobanu] Do you have any objections?

[Mihai] Many. It does not have to be reformulated but rather rethought. Why was a new Constitution needed when there was a very good one formulated by people who would have sacrificed their lives for the country? Our Constitution was considered once and for all, without undercurrents, without ploys.

[Ciobanu] Would you mention some of your objections?

[Mihai] For example, it does not mention anything about the true borders. There is no mention whatsoever that the border is an open issue. On the contrary, everything is sealed in this respect. This is one thing. Then there is no mention that our ancestral church is a national one. The great majority is orthodox! [passage omitted] Granting our Orthodox Church the status of a national Church, however, would widen its responsibilities. Important decisions, which usually go beyond politics, could no longer be made without consulting it and without its vote. [passage omitted]

[Ciobanu] Sire, I would not like to end our discussion before you express your opinion on the chance of receiving most favored nation [MFN] status.

[Mihai] I want it to be understood that no one can influence—positively or negatively—the decision by the Americans. Only the actual appraisal of the political

orientation of the regime in Bucharest will decide this issue. What is my opinion? If this status would help the country, then I favor it, for I know that the government is not one and same with the country. [passage omitted] Formerly, MFN status just helped consolidate the dictatorship. Granting it was a sort of good-behavior certificate for a criminal regime in front of its people. Let us suppose that I could make the Americans grant this status. What guarantees can the current government provide that MFN status would not consolidate the tendency toward reestablishing communism, which—more than ever before—is visible in the conduct of those in power?

[Ciobanu] Maybe this discussion will shed light on many things. Therefore, I want to ask you: What do you expect from the Romanians who will respond to Your Majesty's appeal?

[Mihai] One argument is the fact that the country has not lost its energy to respond to danger! I think that I can make use of my name and of the entire prestige of the Romanian royal house to take the country out of this stalemate. The essential condition for things changing is that I return home. Thus I can only prepare the ground for the day when—the Lord willing—we will be together again. I am Romanian by birth and by destiny.

PRM Congress Elects Steering Board, Calls for Unity

AU0703170293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1644 GMT 7 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 7/3/1993—Sunday, March 7, on the second day of the congress of Greater Romania Party, PRM, the party's report, statutes and programme were debated.

Mihaila Cofariu, victim of the 1990 ethnic clashes in Tirgu Mures, who attended part of the works of the congress, was declared honorary member of Greater Romania Party.

The unique candidate to the PRM chairmanship, Senator Corneliu Vadim Tudor, was elected by show of hands. All the delegates (about 400) but one, who abstained from vote, voted for him.

Heated debates were held on the number of members of the All- Country Council and the territorial representation. The said council, counting 89 members, the chairmen of local branches included, was elected also by show of hands.

The All-Country Council held its first sitting to elect a steering board formed of nine, namely one chairman, two first deputy chairmen (a honorary one—Eugen Barbu, and an executive one—Mircea Musat), two deputy chairmen (Tanase Ioan and Valeriu Buzea), three secretaries (Dan Ioan Mirescu, Iuliu Ioan Furo and Cornel Ciontu) and a spokesman (Mircea Hamza). An ethics commission and an auditing one were elected.

The congress adopted a decision on the passing of the PRM statutes and the PRM programme.

A message was read out, addressed to the public opinion in Romania and abroad, calling for the "harmony, understanding and unity of all the political forces in Romania," to make the country overcome the current crisis and make one interest prevail, that of the Romanian people.

Tudor Elected Party President

AU0703145093 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 7 Mar 93

[Text] The first congress of the Greater Romania Party [PRM] is continuing the International Press Club in Bucharest. By open ballot a few minutes ago, the congress elected Corneliu Vadim Tudor president.

In the morning the delegations warmly greeted PRM member Mihaila Cofariu [victim of Tirgu Mures violence in March 1990], who was invited to take a seat in the Presidium. In their speeches the delegates proposed that the draft platform and by-laws be improved, and reported on party activities in various counties.

Numerous speakers favored—something also supported by the PRM deputies—seeking solutions to halt inflation and to take the necessary measures to ensure food supplies.

Reserve General Valeriu Buzea read a decision by the Steering Committee on establishing the title of honorary PRM member. The congress decided to award Mihail Cofariu this title for exceptional merit in defending the nation. Amidst applause, Tudor handed Cofariu the country's tricolor flag, an honorary membership diploma, and 70,000 lei on behalf of the party. As previously announced, two other members of the party added another donation of 330,000 lei to Cofariu.

Afterward Ioan Tanase, president of the party's Cluj branch, presented the decision on the party by-laws and platform, which was endorsed.

Tudor Reviews Congress Results

AU0703201893 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 7 Mar 93

[Text] Corneliu Vadim Tudor has made the following statement to our station:

[Begin recording] I can say that I am very satisfied. I can tell the listeners that the Greater Romania Party [PRM] has acquired legitimacy and full maturity. Without fear of being wrong, one can say that we have been reborn. What was the whim of a few patriotic Romanians at the beginning—the ROMANIA MARE magazine and then the frail Greater Romania Party, which we founded in the summer of 1991—is now beginning to gradually gain the proportions of a mass movement.

I would like everyone to note that, while all the other parties are ruining their images and beginning to lose their reputations, the PRM is growing considerably and there is only one explanation: Time has proved that all the precepts that we have established have been valid. From the very beginning, we proceeded with a national platform. We did not deceive the electorate with false promises, namely that rivers of milk and honey would flow on Romania's weary soil. We told people what we are able to do and what we are not able to do. What we can do is to restore the dignity of Romanians, so that they can call themselves Romanians in their own home. Let us stop and eradicate the infractions and the boundless insolence of certain members of minority groups. At this point I would like to open a parenthesis, which seems to me important: We have benefited from the presence of the press, the diplomatic corps, and so many other guests at the proceedings of our congress to affirm the truth again and again, namely that the PRM energetically rejects any extremist, chauvinist, or racist labels. We are a humanist party, stretching out our hand with great love and understanding toward all minorities brought by the winds of history to Romanian soil.

When we stretch out our hand, however, we would like to ask them—if it is not too much to ask—one thing: To be loyal to the united Romanian state. No one should humiliate the majority population, that is the Romanian population, in its own home.

If all this will be understood, as [Romanian poet] Nicolae Labis put it in a beautiful poem, then things will turn for the better in Romania.

At the same time, it was a great and exciting moment to have Mihaila Cofariu—the martyr of the Romanian nation, this live relic of the revanchist Hungarian rage which haunted Tirgu Mures in March 1990—attend our congress. Mr. Cofariu, whom we appreciate with all our heart, agreed to become an honorary member of our party and accepted the national prize from ROMANIA MARE magazine. A number of sponsors, who love our party and are aware of our country's needs, presented him with some money to ensure his survival and that of his numerous children, at least for the next few years.

This being said, I can say that I am satisfied with the proficient, sincere, and responsible atmosphere in which the congress was held. We want everyone, but primarily the political parties and last but not least the press, which continues to criticize us, to know one basic thing: We are still holding an olive branch. We still stretch out a friendly hand to everyone to get along well together, to achieve the greatest national harmony, and to prevent this noble and hard-tried nation from the degrading and deplorable exercises of politicking and gypsy-like spectacle which is devastating our socio-political life like an epidemic.

Our people are tired of such things. They want us to roll up our sleeves and work effectively. He who does not understand such a thing can go wherever he wants and be accompanied by our ancient wish: Good riddance. [end recording]

Calls for Tokes' Expulsion

AU0603144993 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 6 Mar 93

[Text] The proceedings of the first congress of Greater Romania Party [PRM] are under way in Bucharest at this time. After Romania's national anthem and that of the PRM were played, PRM President Mr. Corneliu Vadim Tudor greeted the participants in this congress on behalf of the Steering Committee.

In accordance with the schedule, the first point on the agenda was presented, namely a report on the party's activity and on the situation of the nation.

Mr. Corneliu Vadim Tudor presented a short history of the party he is leading, mentioning that the PRM is a center-leftist party able to offer—through its program and electoral platform—solutions to take the country out of the current stalemate.

After he reviewed the socioeconomic and political situation of Romania, Mr. Corneliu Vadim Tudor emphasized that this congress was called upon to formulate the political doctrine and work out ways and means to save the country as envisioned by the PRM.

Referring to certain topical political events, Mr. Corneliu Vadim Tudor specified that the PRM offers to cooperate with the executive power to halt the country's economic decline.

As far as the PRM's attitude toward the situation of minorities is concerned, it was stressed that the observance of human rights is sufficient by itself. Due to the latest statements by Pastor Tokes, the PRM proposed that he be expelled from Romania and that the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] be outlawed.

In conclusion, the report presented by Mr. Corneliu Vadim Tudor calls for national unity.

We want to mention that the congress is being attended by representatives of the Democratic National Salvation Front, the Romanian National Unity Party, the Socialist Party of Labor, the Democratic Agrarian Party, and the Romanian New Society Party, our reporters informed us.

After the presentation of the report, Senator Adrian Paunescu took the floor and, on his own behalf, greeted all participants in the congress proceedings and emphasized the role played by the PRM and its president, Mr. Corneliu Vadim Tudor, in our country's political activity.

Article Condemns Tokes Statements

AU0503211793 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 2 Mar 93 pp 1, 5

[Article by Grigore Traian Pop: "Is Mr. Tokes' Viewpoint Identical With the UDMR's Viewpoint?"]

[Text] It is high time to put aside the lampoon and taking only truth, the most rigorous logic, and reason as our allies, start asking ourselves very seriously whether the so called millennia-old Hungary's dream will become the Europe's nightmare.

First, we realize that circles of the Hungarian diaspora have led systematically, through the most reprovable means—resorting to historical inaccuracy and lies—an anti-Romanian policy. With complaints about the lack of rights of the Hungarian minority during the dictatorship (did the Romanians have any rights?), the anti-Romanian offensive continued after the revolution questioning the content and spirit of international treaties and Romania's borders and independence. The old Hungarian revisionism and chauvinism that in 1940 led to the mutilation of Romania through the Vienna Diktat, has become topical again, the whipping boy remaining the lack of rights for the Hungarian minority. Needless to say, the lie yielded fruit, because the U.S. Congress—having been misinformed—took the viewpoint of certain U.S. senators of Hungarian origin. It was exactly like before 1940, when the Budapest authorities started a sustained diplomatic offensive against Romania, in the name of the illusion of pan-Hungarianism and the millennia-old Hungary, that was allegedly united and injustice made to it through the Trianon Treaty.

One of the greatest roles in this scenario was played by the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania], some extremist leaders of that (ethnic or political?!) party, which had to sustain systematical accusations about lack of rights and denationalization, which contradicts the most elementary truth. Not even to this very day could they answer the obsessive question: What are those rights that the Romanians have and the Hungarians lack? Certainly, it is not a speculation that the claims of the so-called rights has degenerated into an imperative, ultimatum-type of demand of privileges.

The Council of Europe and increasingly influential governmental and nongovernmental circles—who know Romanian realities—were convinced that the "oppression" of Hungarians in Romania is a simple destabilizing propaganda slogan.

However, precisely when things seemed to enter a more normal path, when the UDMR expressed its willingness to hold dialogue, when the PUNR [Romanian National Unity Party] shared this viewpoint, and Romania's efforts to approach the issue of minorities in terms of European democracy were acknowledged by the political fora, here comes the stupefying declaration by Bishop Tokes—who calls himself the hero of the Romanian revolution—made abroad, according to which a policy of ethnic cleansing is being practiced in Romania, just like in Bosnia. His arguments proved a lack of substance that matched the incredibility of the verdict. Tens of thousands of Hungarians "were indirectly forced to leave their homeland" Mr. Tokes declared. As far as we know, almost half a million Hungarians left Hungary in the past five years. Is there an ethnic purification going on there, too?

However, the question is different: Will the UDMR risk its political "honor" and state that it agrees with the affirmations of its honorary president? If the answer is yes, the latest assurance voiced by the "moderate" leaders of that party are hypocritical, to say the least.

Bishop Tokes Discusses Statement on 'Ethnic Cleansing'

AU0703153893 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 2 Mar 93 p 3

[Report by Claudia Harceaga: "I Believe That it Was an Unfortunate Expression"]

[Text] Upon return to the town of Oradea from a visit to the United States and Hungary, Mr. Laszlo Tokes made a telephone statement exclusively to the ROMANIA LIBERA saying the following: "I believe that we are dealing here with a series of preconceived attacks. When in the first days of February I started my trip to the United States, I predicted—proceeding from the case of Mrs. Doina Cornea—as an assumption, that when I come home, most probably no matter what I say in the United States I am going to be attacked under a pretext for an insignificant expression. As a matter of fact, what the television had broadcast, I mean Mr. Dorin Suciu's statement, was a small excerpt of a news conference held in Washington on Tuesday, 23 February, where, in answer to a certain question, I also raised the issue of the decrease in the number of Hungarians in Romania since World War I. I also stated that one can notice a process of making the Hungarians leave their homeland. This answer of mine was not published in any newspaper in the United States until Friday, 26 February, when I scrutinized the American press. Mr. Dorin Suciu's question was most probably based on reports by people who merely attended the conference.

Dorin Suciu extracted from a discussion that lasted over one hour only the expression referring to ethnic cleansing. I believe that it was an unfortunate expression because it was too direct an allusion to the current situation in the former Yugoslavia; however, as far as the content of the respective expression is concerned and forgetting about the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, it has some truth in it. The expression itself also covers a reality in our country.

I made it clear in Budapest that I am not talking about a direct analogy with the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, but the effects of the intimidating nationalism are similar to those in the former Yugoslavia.

Tens of thousands of Hungarians in the area of Novi Sad are leaving the Vojvodina region because they are intimidated. (...) How is it possible that the president of the Romanian Television appointed to this position by President Ion Iliescu propagates a "possible political program" under the sign of instigating hatred and Romanian exclusiveness and claims that the share of Romanians must be increased to the disadvantage of minorities? He says: "Currently the Romanian element is in a numerical regress. It has to be balanced by all means" and adds that it is necessary to oust from Romania all those who are not assimilable.

As a matter of fact, Mr. Everac's appointment to the position indirectly reflects at least the political options of President Ion Iliescu and the parties that support him is concerned. "This causes profound apprehension in all of us who belong to the Hungarian ethnic minority. Tens of thousands of Hungarians have left Romania after the 1989 December events and even more after the black March of 1990 [Tirgu Mures incidents]. I am not saying that the cause of all emigration is fear, but the dominant cause is intimidation and psychological uncertainty, mainly produced by the unrestrained extremist nationalism that is promoted even in the Romanian Parliament itself. Nationalists make interpretations the way they want."

SRI Head Denies Training Terrorists for Moldova

AU0503201293 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 5 Mar 93

[Text] Virgil Magureanu, the head of the Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI], granted an interview today to one of our reporters. Talking about his 3 March meeting with Moldova's President Mircea Snegur, Magureanu said that such talks are always useful because they allow for a better and more complete knowledge of each other's aims.

Commenting on two press items published by two Russian dailies—alleging that terrorists are being trained in Romanian camps for the possible undermining of the current Moldovan state power, documenting those charges with a letter allegedly sent by a SRI employee—Virgil Magureanu pointed out, quote, we can rule out that one of our employees really wrote such a letter. The spelling and the language used in the letter clearly demonstrate the fact that it was written by someone living outside our country and it is quite obvious that the slanderous content of the letter was meant to stir up tensions between the two states, unquote.

We are engaged in activities related to fighting terrorism, Magureanu asserted, adding that the SRI is not legally empowered in any way to train terrorists for acts of subversion abroad. Magureanu pointed out that all such rumors are totally groundless.

Asked about the position of the president of the Republic of Moldova concerning the issue, Magureanu said that President Mircea Snegur did not believe any of the rumors.

The main goal of the 3 March talks was to establish closer ties with respect to fighting terrorism and organized crime.

Concerning the relations between the two countries and the two institutions specialized in intelligence, SRI head Magureanu said that they ought to preserve a climate as close to normality as possible.

TANJUG Notes Third Airdrop of Aid to Srebrenica

LD0803082493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0752 GMT 8 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, March 8 (TANJUG)—U.S. Air Force planes parachuted the eighth batch of food and medicine over eastern Bosnia in the night between Sunday and Monday, news agencies reported.

Six C-130 Hercules planes dropped 45.3 tonnes of food and 900 kg of medical equipment and medicine over Srebrenica, said a statement issued by the U.S. Army headquarters for Europe.

This was the third consecutive night that planes parachuted aid to this town in eastern Bosnia.

The statement said humanitarian aid was parachuted to Srebrenica because of a large number of refugees in the area.

Humanitarian Aid Convoy Reaches Zepa

LD0703172793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 7 Mar 93

[Text] As radio hams from Zepa have reported, a humanitarian aid convoy arrived in the town yesterday. The convoy brought 66 tonnes of food. The residents of Zepa expressed thanks for the delivered aid and asked that the air drops of humanitarian aid continue. They would also like the next convoy to bring the necessary supplies of salt because that vital item has not yet been brought to Zepa.

Airdrop Found Near Zepa

LD0703205293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 7 Mar 93

[Text] Based on reports so far about the outcome of the airdrop operation, 16 pallets from the first airdrop have been found so far. As far as the second airdrop is concerned, 25 pallets have been found despite the difficulties caused by a snowstorm. People have been overcoming the difficulties by carrying the pallets on their backs to assembly points. During the last few days there has been no hindrance from enemy artillery. The people of Zepa welcome this operation and hope that it will continue in this area. covered

15 Crates Discovered

LD0603000793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 5 Mar 93

[Excerpts] Chetniks from Borike and Visegrad shelled people waiting for a convoy of humanitarian aid. [passage omitted]

Despite a severe snowstorm, the inhabitants of Zepa discovered 15 crates. Chetnik artillery hindered the transport of this aid to the assembly point.

Air-Dropped Parcels Found Near Konjevic Polje

LD0603083493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 6 Mar 93

[Text] According to a report from radio hams in Konjevic Polje this morning, conveyed via radio hams at Zagreb mosque, 18 humanitarian aid parcels fell about 4 km from Konjevic Polje, i.e. on the free territory controlled by the defenders. Attacks by Serb formations subsided last night, the radio hams reported.

Radio hams from Srebrenica also reported about humanitarian parcels. According to details so far, three parcels fell in the town center. They also reported that refugees from Cerska have gradually been reaching Srebrenica: so far around 4,000 have arrived. That represents an additional burden for the starved population of that eastern Bosnia town.

Bosnian Serb Minister Says Airdrops 'Pointless'

LD0703144593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1353 GMT 7 Mar 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Novi Sad, March 7 (TANJUG)—Defence Minister of the Serb Republic Major-General Dusan Kovacevic expressed his apprehension that Moslems or Bosnian Croats could try to use the United States (U.S.) operation of humanitarian airdrops into eastern Bosnia to provoke a foreign military intervention against Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

"On countless occasions, Moslems have abused humanitarian missions organized by the United Nations (U.N.) to provoke a military intervention. It is possible that Moslems or Croats will try to down one of the U.S. cargo planes, to accuse the Serb side for it, and then the U.S. would enter into the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina," Gen. Kovacevic said in an interview to the Novi Sad daily DNEVNIK on Sunday [7 March].

The Bosnian Serb leadership was against this risky U.S. operation because it was suspected that the Americans would supply weaponry to the Moslems and Croats, in addition to food and medicines.

The Bosnian Serb leadership also indicated that the current manner of distribution of humanitarian aid by land was at a satisfactory level and that the U.S. action was unnecessary.

"I think that Operation Provide Promise will be a short one, because it is a completely pointless relief mission. The quantity of aid that is airdropped in three or four days could fit into three trailer trucks," Gen. Kovacevic said.

He said that many people in the world wanted the Bosnian Serbs to provoke an incident in operation provide promise, but at the same time pointed out that the West had suggested to the U.S. to use Serb-controlled

air space because it was much safer for them than that controlled by Moslems or Croats.

If Moslems or Bosnian Croats were to provoke an incident and thus a military intervention, Gen. Kovacevic believes that the Yugoslav republics of Serbia and Montenegro would then also be targetted and that the winds of war would spread to the entire Balkans, and even elsewhere in Europe.

Gen. Kovacevic said that "The West has already made a scenario" aimed at dismembering the Serb people in the territories of former Yugoslavia.

"The authors of this scenario will not rest until the war spills into Serbia. Unfortunately, a large part of this scenario is now being realized through the Security Council and other U.N. institutions," Gen. Kovacevic said.

Gen. Kovacevic expressed doubt that there would soon be peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina, where a civil, ethnic and religious war has been underway for almost a year because of attempts by the Moslem leadership to transform Bosnia into an Islamic state where orthodox Serbs and Catholic Croats would be national minorities.

"As long as the international community is in such an anti-Serb mood there can hardly be peace, because only Serbs sincerely want peace, and Moslems do not want it at all," Gen. Kovacevic said.

To substantiate these claims, Gen. Kovacevic said that despite the fact that Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic had signed the military document of the Geneva peace plan for Bosnia-Hercegovina, his army was continuing fiercely to attack Serb villages, particularly in eastern Bosnia.

Morillon Reaches Cerska, Sees 'No Massacres'

LD0603143393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1340 GMT 6 Mar 93

[Text] Zvornik, 6 Mar (TANJUG)—General Philippe Morillon, UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] commander in former Bosnia-Hercegovina, told a TANJUG correspondent in Zvornik today that he did not see any massacres in Cerska and Konjevic Polje as was rumored. Shortly before 1300 General Morillon arrived in Zvornik after visiting Konjevic Polje and Cerska, which he visited yesterday afternoon together with representatives of international humanitarian organizations. Asked by the TANJUG correspondent to give his comparison between the situation in the area that he visited with what was presented in international media, General Morillon said: "The difference is big."

"I saw for myself that the situation is serious, but it is not dramatic. The population is threatened by the war, but I did not see any massacres as was rumored," Morillon said.

Morillon promised to inform the United Nations about everything that he saw, expressing particular gratitude to the Serb side which, as he said, enabled him to visit the areas of Konjevic Polje and Cerska where he saw for himself that "it is a war-affected area, but there is no starvation there and the overall number of wounded is 75."

During talks in Zvornik today, Lieutenant Colonel Svetozar Andric, commander of the First Birac Brigade of the Serb Republic [in Bosnia-Hercegovina] Army, and Branko Grujic, mayor of the Serb municipality of Zvornik, reiterated that the Serb side is ready to secure safe passage for Muslims from the wider area of Konjevic Polje in two directions, but that the same should be done for more than 18,000 Serbs in Tuzla, through Morillon's mediation. Morillon promised that he would start negotiations today with Muslim authorities in Tuzla so that the humanitarian action begins simultaneously, which the Serb side insists on.

Morillon said the local Muslim commander in Srebrenica promised that he would cease all offensive actions against the Serbs. Andric replied to this by saying that the Serb side has reliable reports on an agreement between Sefer Halilovic, supreme commander of the Muslim army, and the Srebrenica Muslim leader, which was issued yesterday while Morillon was there. Halilovic told the Srebrenica leader that an all-out attack on Serbs would be launched from the direction of Kladanj, Zivinice, Tuzla, and Kalesija "with the aim of perpetrating a massacre against the Serbs," Andric said.

Morillon said that he, General Mladic, and Halilovic will meet on Monday [8 March] to discuss the complete cessation of combat activities. All particulars in connection with the practical way of evacuating Serbs from Tuzla, as TANJUG was told by Andric, will be made public via public information media, i.e. when a final agreement is reached. It is only then that the Muslims will be allowed to leave the wider area of Konjevic Polje, Andric said.

Morillon: Serbs Control Cerska

AU0603201693 Paris AFP in English 2014 GMT 6 Mar 93

[Text] Sarajevo, March 6 (AFP)—The Muslim enclave of Cerska in eastern Bosnia has fallen to Serbian forces and all its inhabitants have fled, U.N. forces commander Phillipe Morillon said Saturday [6 March].

Speaking on his return here from the enclave, General Morillon said that Cerska had been "a big village" but was "absolutely empty now".

Halilovic Criticizes Morillon Visit

LD0703195293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 7 Mar 93

[Text] Sarajevo has been peaceful today. A police station in Novo Sarajevo warns, however, of enemy sniper

activity. Sporadic small-arms fire has been registered in the Stup area. The town has no electricity or water supplies.

In connection with the assessment of the situation in eastern Bosnia by General Morillon, UN Protection Force commander for Bosnia-Hercegovina, Sefer Halilovic, chief of the general staff of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army, sent a letter to General Morillon today saying that it was only temporarily that the aggressor stopped shelling Konjevic Polje and the surrounding areas. Halilovic holds it against General Morillon that he arrived in Cerska too late and that, consequently, many lives were lost. The latest great massacre, according to Halilovic, occurred on Thursday evening near Debelo Brdo on the way to Kladanj. Chetniks murdered about 250 Muslim civilians. Halilovic therefore demands that General Morillon launch a detailed investigation. All important international institutions have been requested to take part in the investigation.

Ganic Says Morillon Deceived

AU0803093093 Paris AFP in English 0300 GMT 8 Mar 93

[Text] Sarajevo, March 8 (AFP)—Serb forces have attacked with mortar fire hundreds of Moslem civilians who fled Cerska after the eastern Bosnian enclave fell to Serb forces last week, Bosnian Vice President Ejup Ganic charged Sunday [7 March]. He said some 200 people who fled the area on Friday had come under fire and had been forced to take refuge in surrounding hills and woods in snow and bitter cold.

Bosnian army chief Sefer Halilovic meanwhile said the U.N. commander in Bosnia-Hercegovina, General Philippe Morillon, had been deceived by the Serbs during a visit to Cerska on Saturday. Morillon said he found the town empty of its inhabitants but had seen "no evidence of a massacre, no dead bodies." Halilovic said Morillon had arrived "too late" in Cerska and charged that he had been used to cover up "Serbian crimes", notably "a massacre of about 250 Moslems last Thursday near Debelo Brdo" not far from Cerska.

In a letter to the U.N. command in Bosnia, Halilovic said the Serbs had also "removed evidence of a massacre committed at a school in Cerska, which was set on fire."

The Bosnian vice-president expressed appreciation for Morillon's gesture in going to Cerska but hinted that the U.N. commander had been too hasty in his conclusions. "We are very pleased about it ... but he couldn't see much and he couldn't search the area," Ganic said, adding: "He went where the chetniks (Serbs) told him to go. It was a good gesture but far from a fact-finding mission." Morillon should have gone into the surrounding hills where he would have found the refugees, according to Ganic.

Halilovic called on Morillon to lead an enquiry into what happened at Cerska which he said had been "spared by Serbian artillery only during his brief visit so as to give the blue berets a false impression."

In another development, a meeting planned on Monday between Morillon and Bosnian Serb and Moslem military leaders was called off when Bosnian leaders said such a meeting was pointless.

Ganic said the Serbs would first have to respect a ceasefire promised three days ago by their military commander General Ratko Mladic.

Mladic Criticizes Visit

AU0503214393 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 5 Mar 93

[Telephone interview with General Ratko Mladic, commander of the Army of the Serbian Republic, by an unidentified reporter in the studio on 5 March; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Mladic] At about 1400 today, Muslim forces attacked the convoy carrying humanitarian aid organized by the Red Cross and the Serbian Orthodox Church and meant for the civilians of all three peoples in Sarajevo. For no need or reason, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] kept the convoy at the entrance to the Sarajevo Airport where the Muslim forces then attacked it from the direction of Donji Kotorac. Four people from the convoy were wounded in the attack, two of them seriously. The following people have been wounded: an American reporter named Tony has been slightly wounded; driver Dragoljub Radivojevic has been hit, and his wound is serious; Dragutin Delic has a serious wound in the region of the kidneys; and Slavko Petrovic has been wounded in the right shoulder. Due to the fire by the Muslim forces, the wounded could not be reached for over an hour. The wounded have been taken care of, and their lives are out of danger. The humanitarian aid vehicles and cargo have been guarded by the Army of the Serbian Republic and the people in the convoy headed by the Serbian Orthodox Church Priest Filaret have been received by the Army of the Serbian republic and accommodated at a safe place.

On the occasion of this unhappy and very brutal attack at the convoy of the Serbian Orthodox, [Mladic pauses] humanitarian aid, an urgent meeting was demanded with representatives of UNPROFOR, the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees, and the International Red Cross. They are expected to come to Kukavica, near the place near the airport where this unhappy event occurred.

[Reporter] Mr. General, French General Morillon, deputy commander of the blue helmets, today visited eastern Bosnia, I would say suddenly.

[Mladic] Yes, you are right. Contrary to the agreement we reached on 3 March and allegedly following the direct

order of Butrus-Ghali and the Security Council, Mr. Morillon set off from Split today and reached Tuzla in a helicopter. With three military vehicles, he travelled from there, crossing the front line between Tuzla and Zvornik and then headed along Zvornik-Drinjaca line. He passed it safely and is there [not further specified] at this moment with the intention of passing through to Konjevic Polje.

I have sent a harsh protest to General Morillon for such arrogance [samovolja] and asked UNPROFOR representatives to come to talks and explain such conduct, as it was contrary to our agreement of 3 March according to which one should have first exchanged prisoners in the central prison, the Viktor Bubanj Prison in Sarajevo for prisoners in (?Kula). However, this has not been done, and Morillon met his representatives in Konjevic Polje. In any case, both events are in fact other events [sentence as heard]. Morillon's visit to eastern regions of the former Bosnia-Hercegovina is directly connected with the pressure on the Serbian delegation in New York.

Serb Shelling Halts Morillon

AU0603144093 Paris AFP in English 1351 GMT 6 Mar 93

[Text] Sarajevo, March 6 (AFP)—A Serbian artillery barrage halted General Philippe Morillon, commander of U.N. forces in Bosnia-Hercegovina, on Saturday [6 March] as he was on the point of entering the besieged Moslem enclave of Cerska in eastern Bosnia, a U.N. spokesman said here.

Shells had begun to fall on the centre of Cerska as Gen. Morillon approached it, the spokesman, Barry Frewer, said. There was no direct threat to the French general, he said.

Morillon immediately radioed Bosnian Serb commander Ratko Mladic and asked him to order an end to the shelling but was told the Serbs were merely responding to a Moslem attack.

Earlier, Frewer said Morillon had made "an initial assessment" of the situation there. Details were not immediately available, but he said, "Bits of everything you hear are probably true. Certainly there has been a major battle around Cerska.

"As a result of that, villages have changed hands, some of the population was said to be wounded, some of the population has certainly made various attempts to leave, there are probably a lot of people on the roads or in the woods in bad conditions."

Morillon spent Friday night in the Serb-controlled sector of the Moslem enclave in eastern Bosnia, which has been cut off from the outside world for months.

The French general, accompanied by several U.N. officials, Saturday morning held a series of meeting with Serbian military officials, before heading for the Bosnian-controlled zone, a U.N. spokesman said.

Morillon left Sarajevo Friday morning for Cerska, where hundreds are reported to have died in fighting, and some 1,500 injured are said to be awaiting medical treatment.

The enclave was the first target for a U.S. relief airdrop which began on Monday.

Morillon Returns to Sarajevo

AU0603155593 Paris AFP in English 1548 GMT 6 Mar 93

[Text] Sarajevo, March 6 (AFP)—General Philippe Morillon, head of U.N. peacekeeping troops in Bosnia-Hercegovina (UNPROFOR), returned to Tuzla, north of Sarajevo, Saturday [6 March] after a visit to the Bosnian enclave of Cerska in eastern Bosnia, an UNPROFOR spokesman announced.

Morillon will fly by helicopter to Kiseljak, 30 kilometers (20 miles) from the Bosnian capital, where he was expected at 5:00 p.m. (1600 GMT), the spokesman added.

Muslim Surrender in Zepa, Cerska Reported

LD0803130693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1148 GMT 8 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Mar (TANJUG)—The commanders of Muslim units from Zepa and Cerska in eastern Bosnia have offered to surrender their arms to the Serb Republic's Army, SRNA reported today citing well-informed sources.

According to SRNA, the commander of Muslim units in Srebrenica, Naser Oric, asked the commander of all Muslim formations, Sefer Halilovic, for "a piece of advice on how to proceed".

According to SRNA, Oric has informed Halilovic about the intention of the local commanders in Zepa and Cerska to surrender their arms. According to the agency, Oric told Halilovic that he planned to do the same thing unless he receives ammunition in due time.

Serbs Reportedly Hiding Evidence of 'Crimes'

AU0503195693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 5 Mar 93

[Report by Salih Brkic from Tuzla]

[Text] Cerska has for days now been the focus of attention in Tuzla. Today, General Morillon, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] commander for Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Hazim Sabic, commander of the Second Corps of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army in Tuzla, met at Dubrave airport. Then General Morillon, in an armored car and escorted by UN members, went off to tour the suffering in Podrinje, to see for himself the situation in the area.

The Press Service of the Second Corps in Tuzla said that, during the talks at the Dubrave airport, General

Morillon did not make any promises about any quick or effective solution to the problem of delivering aid to the wounded and the civilians in Cerska and Konjevic Polje.

We received news from Cerska this morning that the village of Gornji (?Talovici) was burning, and that another 12 people had been killed and 18 wounded in the continuing shelling. The news also said that 250 more people left the shelterless mountains in an unknown direction, and they had not yet arrived in Konjevic Polje. This afternoon's information from Cerska says that the citizens have found out that General Morillon is in Cerska, the shelling has stopped, while the chetnik forces with tracker dogs are searching for and removing the massacred and burned bodies, particularly the bodies of the old, crippled, and wounded from the destroyed primary school building in Cerska. They are of course trying to hide the evidence of the horrific crimes from the UNPROFOR officials, we were told in the Vlasenica War Presidency offices in Tuzla.

Commentary Says Tuzla 'Ignored' Appeal From Cerska

AU0503212093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 5 Mar 93

[Commentary by Senad Avdic, editor of SLOBODNA BOSNA]

[Text] The defenders of Cerska, Konjevic Polje, and Srebrenica have been preventing with superhuman efforts the chetnik forces from occupying this part of northeastern Bosnia, and it is now obvious that they could have done no better.

The latest chetnik offensive, when two corps of the so-called Yugoslav army—the Titovo Uzice Corps and the Valjevo Corps—launched an offensive in this part of our country, could not have been repelled by the defenders of Cerska and Konjevic Polje alone. They needed help for that, primarily from their immediate command, that is from the command of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army Second Corps seated in Tuzla. The people and the fighters of this part of Bosnia-Hercegovina have been warning for months about the extremely indolent attitude by the military and civilian authorities in Tuzla toward the tragedy of Cerska, Konjevic Polje, Kamenica, and Srebrenica. The appeals and demands for help in weapons, ammunition, and manpower were ignored in Tuzla.

The information is true that the legendary Naser Oric, commander of the Srebrenica defense, sent two bullets via a messenger to Zeljko Knez, former commander of the Second Corps, with a message that he should kill himself before Oric arrived in Tuzla. It is also true that Zeljko Knez was relieved from his duty as commander of the Second Corps, that is, he did not leave of his own free will. The reason for his dismissal was exactly the fact that he did not do enough to help the people and the fighters of the Srebrenica and Vlasenica regions. It is true that there are many critical spots in the zone of responsibility of the Second Corps, from Gradacac to Brcko, from Mount Majevica to Tesanj, but that is hardly an excuse for neglecting northeastern Bosnia and leaving it to the mercy of the chetniks.

Correspondent that spent some time very recently on the access roads to Cerska witnessed that fighters of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army from Tuzla were heading toward Cerska, but they were going voluntarily and without any knowledge by and coordination with the Second Corps Command. The news about the dismissal of Commander Sabic of the Podrinje Brigade and the setting up of a court martial for him because he refused to rush to the help of the fighters and the people of Cerska only confirms the months-old claims by the members of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army and the people from this region. They say these days that, while Tuzla was celebrating the appointment of Zeljko Knez to a new function in Zagreb, while the civilian and military authorities in Tuzla sang and laughed, meanwhile the fighters and the people of Cerska were going through the inferno that the whole world is talking about these days, and which has managed to shock even the UN Security Council. It is hard to believe that the dismissal of Commander Sabic will help the citizens and fighters of Cerska in any way whatsoever. However, there is the impression that finally the realization is dawning that the civilian and military authorities in Tuzla will have to answer for the cataclysm of this area, as they had watched passively for months the tragedy of almost 100,000 people who were only some 50 kilometers away. The fighters of Cerska, Srebrenica, and Konjevic Polje have done all they could during the last year for the defense and protection of this part of Bosnia-Hercegovina. It is obvious that there is a limit to their heroism. They need help now. The military and civilian authorities of Tuzla can and must give them help. The tragedy of Cerska and the wider region is the tragedy of the entire Bosnia-Hercegovina, and no one who can prevent or alleviate that tragedy but does not do so can or must be spared the responsibility. This is at the moment the issue of all issues for Bosnia-Hercegovina, and therefore for its military and civilian authorities.

Serb Republic Army To 'Guarantee' Safety of Muslims

LD0603111493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1040 GMT 6 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, March 6 (TANJUG)—The Serb Republic Army General Staff on Friday [5 March] informed the Moslem population of eastern Bosnia that they need not leave their homes and villages because the Bosnian Serb Army would guarantee their peace and safety.

The information, a copy of which was received by TANJUG on Friday evening, said that "Moslem units launched an offensive two months ago in an attempt to clean and destroy everything that is of Serb origin in eastern Bosnia."

"Forty-eight Serb villages in the region are still controlled by Moslems and the fate of the villagers is uncertain. We fear that there are many more mass graves of massacred Serbs to be discovered," the information said.

The Serb Republic Army recalled that 72 Serb villages were destroyed in the region of Srebrenica, Bratunac and Zvornik alone, and over 1,200 Serbs, mostly children, women and old people were killed, while the rest of the population was banished.

"We call on the Moslem population of eastern Bosnia not to leave their homes and villages because of the crimes committed by Moslem armed bandits. The Serb Republic Army will guarantee them peace and safety. The same applies to the citizens of Banja Luka, Bijeljina and other parts of the Serb Republic where a great number of Moslems live in peace. The terrorist groups of bandits in the territory of eastern Bosnia will be disarmed," the Serb Republic Army said.

Refugees Fleeing Cerska Still Under Attack

LD0603122393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 6 Mar 93

[Text] According to reports by radio hams, attacks on columns of refugees attempting to reach Kladanj and Olovo from Cerska have continued. Nothing is known at the present time about 250 elderly people, women, and children who have set off towards Kladanj.

Swedish Workers To Aid Evacuation of Cerska

LD0503175593 Stockholm Sveriges Radio Network in Swedish 1545 GMT 5 Mar 93

[Text] The evacuation of sick and wounded Muslim refugees from the besieged Cerska area in eastern Bosnia will start early tomorrow morning, it is reported. The evacuation will be taken care of by Swedish drivers from the Swedish Rescue Service, who have waited for several days in their trucks at the Drina River on the border between Serbia and Bosnia. An agreement was reached this afternoon between UN and Serbian leaders, and at 0700 tomorrow morning the evacuation will start, Johan-Erik Langstad of the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees' office told the TT news agency.

Serbs Claim Muslims Launch New Offensive

AU0703153193 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Mar 93

[Report by Ratomir Blanusa]

[Text] The Srebrenica Muslims have launched a powerful new offensive in an attempt to realize their goal of reaching the left bank of the Drina. The fiercest fighting is around the village of Jezero. Muslim forces are pounding this extremely strategic point with tanks and mortars. The Serbian fighters are repelling these attacks effectively.

Halilovic Orders 'Immediate' Attacks in East

AU0803101893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 8 Mar 93

[Text] This morning we received from the Supreme Command of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Armed Forces an order signed by Commander Sefer Halilovic. We carry the order in full:

The chetnik beasts, together with Yugoslav Army units and the monsters from Romanija, have taken advantage of the unilateral cease-fire announced by President Izetbegovic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which has been fully respected by the units of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army. They regrouped their forces from a wider region and—using the most modern weaponry of the former Yugoslav army, that was paid for with the money of the Bosnia-Hercegovina peoples, too—and they have been carrying out frantic attacks upon the unarmed people of Cerska and Konjevic Polje for 10 days now.

The units of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army, with only small arms and with a minimal amount of ammunition but with their great Bosnian hearts, have been defending the region of Konjevic Polje with superhuman efforts, where thousands of women, children, old people, sick and wounded are stranded without shelter. The defense, and therefore the lives, of all these unarmed and innocent people is seriously endangered.

In order to rescue the innocent people and prevent a massacre of the kind that has been seen all too often on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina—to which the international community has been indifferent, and which has astonished the international public with the amount of hatred and crimes committed—I order:

1. The II Corps of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army is to use part of its forces to bolster the defense along the front lines, particularly in Brcko and Gradacac. All other available forces are to launch an immediate and powerful attack in the Konjevic Polje area, in order to link up with the units of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army in that region and rescue the innocent people.

2. The Bosnia-Hercegovina Army units in Olovo and Kladanj are to undertake the necessary regrouping of forces and carry out a powerful attack in the direction of Vlasenica and Konjevic Polje in order to come to the aid of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army units in Konjevic Polje.

3. All available Army units in the region of eastern Bosnia are immediately and without delay to move to the aid of the Army units in Srebrenica and Konjevic Polje, and are immediately to dispatch to them all surplus weapons and ammunition. Together with other

units, they are to launch immediate attacks in order to engage and tie up the chetnik forces.

4. I call on all units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs to join the Army units in the undertaking of this sacred and honorable task—the rescue of unarmed people.

5. I call on all fighters, officers, and commanders of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army units, to show their customary courage and devotion in the undertaking of this great and humane task. Let us defeat the chetnik hatred and weaponry with the valor that is customary to the fighters and the officers of our army, and let us show them once again that they have strayed into our beautiful and timid Bosnian gorges, where they will leave their criminal bones in vain.

This is the order of Sefer Halilovic, commander of the Supreme Command.

Aid Convoy Attacked, Three Feared Dead

AU0503164093 Paris AFP in English 1630 GMT 5 Mar 93

[Text] Sarajevo, March 5 (AFP)—Three people were feared dead after a humanitarian aid convoy was attacked near Sarajevo airport Friday [5 March], a spokesman for the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) said.

The number of casualties could not immediately be confirmed, the spokesman said.

According to early reports, the 15-vehicle convoy was attacked by RPG-7 rocket-propelled grenades while headed for the airport. It had come from Belgrade.

Two vehicles were destroyed and its drivers sought shelter near the French U.N. checkpoint southeast of the airport.

Three of the 15 drivers were missing and feared killed or seriously wounded, the spokesman said.

The convoy was carrying 100 tonnes of flour from Croatian, Serbian and Moslem nongovernmental organizations.

The relief operation was overseen by the Serbian Dobotvor association.

The origin of the grenades was not immediately clear but sources close to the UNPROFOR said they were probably fired by Bosnian Government forces.

Thursday another convoy chartered by the French aid association Equilibre was fired on northwest of the airport. A French aid worker was killed and two Poles were wounded in that attack.

Mladic Demands UN Guarantee Safety of Convoys

LD0503233993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2319 GMT 5 Mar 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, March 5 (TANJUG)—Commander of the Army of the Serb Republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina General Ratko Mladic, said on Friday [5 March] the humanitarian convoys would not be allowed passage through the Serb-controlled territories until the U.N. peacekeeping force and the International Red Cross guaranteed their safety.

Mladic said this in a statement which he personally read out in an interview to the news agency REUTERS.

He said the decision was prompted by a Moslem attack on Friday on a 16-truck convoy near the Sarajevo airport. Two missiles were fired at the convoy and four drivers were wounded, Mladic added.

The convoy was organized by Orthodox, Catholic and Islamic charity associations.

Mladic said the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) was responsible for unnecessarily delaying the convoy.

UN Convoy Halted at Zvornik Because of Cameras

LD0803154493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1523 GMT 8 Mar 93

[Text] Zvornik, March 8 (TANJUG)—A logistic convoy made up of 46 United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) vehicles has for four days been stranded at the border between the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia due to problems with the "blue helmets" equipment.

Convoy commander, Canadian Captain Steve Vihlem, on Sunday [7 March] afternoon agreed to the usual checks.

However, the problems arose after it was determined that a part of the 103 Canadian and French soldiers escorting the convoy were carrying 60 photographic and video cameras, TANJUG learned in the command of the Zvornik garrison of the Army of the Serb Republic.

Vlado Dakic, in charge of contacts with UNPROFOR within the Zvornik garrison, said that the soldiers could either temporarily leave the equipment in Zvornik or take it with them officially sealed in a vehicle which has to be returned in with the seals intact.

He said that certain U.N. soldiers had earlier tried to photograph Serb Republic Army positions, which is strictly forbidden.

At present it is uncertain when the convoy will continue its journey towards Kiseljak and Visoko (vicinity of Sarajevo).

Presidency, Government Support Talks Delegation

LD0503235493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 5 Mar 93

[Text] A joint session of the presidency and the government of Bosnia-Hercegovina, chaired by presidency member Ejup Ganic, analyzed a report by the state delegation that participated in the New York talks. We have the following excerpts from a statement issued after the session:

The discussion reaffirmed confidence in the Bosnia-Hercegovina delegation and again demanded that it not accept any proposals which could threaten the state's territorial integrity and sovereignty. The session gave its support to the state delegation's efforts to continue the talks based on well known principles, including guarantees that the decisions of the New York conference will be implemented by the international factors with a precise timetable and with certain people appointed to carry out these decisions.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina state delegation in New York will be informed in detail about all the standpoints expressed at today's session.

Karadzic Says Bosnia Has 'Ceased to Exist'

LD0703200893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1926 GMT 7 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, 7 March (TANJUG)—There can be no continuity of Bosnia-Hercegovina because it has ceased to exist, Serb republic [of Bosnia-Hercegovina] President Radovan Karadzic told Serb republic radio following the second round of talks in New York, SRNA reports.

"If Bosnia reappears in some form, that can only be with the consent of the three equal nations which will unite their national territories," Karadzic stressed.

The president of the Serb republic said that the Muslim side has taken an ambivalent approach to the maps because one of its factions has not given up the desire to dominate the entire territory of former Bosnia-Hercegovina, while the second faction is trying to win as much territory as possible at the [peace] conference.

"Although there have been indications that the Croats are ready to make some minor concessions to the Serbs concerning the maps, I do not believe that this will be sufficient," Karadzic said.

He added that the Serb delegation made a mistake because it publicly suggested that the Vance plan applied to the Serb Krajinas [in Croatia] should be used as a solution for 20 to 30 percent of the disputed territory in former Bosnia-Hercegovina.

"The plan is now being rejected only because it was suggested by the Serb side. It is essentially an objectively good solution for everyone. The United Nations has no reason to reject it because it has already implemented it once in Croatia," Karadzic said.

As SRNA reports, the president of the Serb Republic said that he has the impression that the possibility of the division of former Bosnia-Hercegovina into two parts—Serb and Croat-Muslim parts—has been reviewed. "It is possible for the Muslims to side with the Croats completely and then create some kind of new Bosnia-Hercegovina, of course, without the Serb territories," Karadzic said.

In the interview to Serb republic radio Karadzic expressed his conviction, SRNA reports, that a compromise must be found concerning the maps. According to Karadzic, the division is completely acceptable for the Croats, slightly less favorable for the Muslims, and leaves the Serbs dissatisfied.

Asked by a Serb republic radio special reporter whether he is optimistic and where he expects the talks to continue, Karadzic said: "A few more times in New York, and then in Geneva."

Serb Assembly President Opposes Proposed Maps

LD0603194393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 6 Mar 93

[Text] Kragujevac, 6 Mar (TANJUG)—If one takes a better look at the proposed maps, one can see that it would be a great historic shame to sign such a document and we, representatives of the Serb people, have not been authorized to do that. This is what Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the Serb republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina's assembly, stressed today in a phone statement for Kragujevac radio.

We think that solutions can be imposed on the Serb people in former Bosnia-Hercegovina. The United Nations could send many troops to implement them but they must know that this is against the will of the Serb nation, Krajisnik said, adding that the delegation is doing everything it can to be cooperative and to justify the reasons for not signing the maps. If this is impossible, the people should elect new representatives who will sign the document.

Stressing that the Serb delegation is under great pressure, Krajisnik said that the will and the force of the arguments of all participants in the talks should be respected and that time will show what the balance of powers will be and whether this generation will realize its aspirations.

Asked about the standpoints of Reginald Bartholomew and Vitaliy Churkin [U.S. and Russian peace envoys], Krajisnik said that they did not "pay too much attention to the maps."

"Churkin understood the situation and knows our reasons but he did not make any major efforts to present them to the other side. He simply believes that this document must be accepted even though it is detrimental for the Serb side," Krajisnik said.

Told that Clinton's threat of new sanctions for Serbia and Montenegro was met with disbelief by the Serb people, Krajisnik said that if the threats were realized "the delegation of the Serb republic will not return to the conference."

[redacted]

Bosnian Serb Minister Assesses New York Talks

AU0803100093 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 7 Mar 93

[Interview with Aleksa Buha, foreign minister of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, by Slobodan Jankovic; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Buha] With the new agreement—I will call it the New York agreement—the Croats are, I would say, giving up a considerable share of their constituent rights. According to this agreement, the provinces are an integral part of Bosnia-Hercegovina and they are not national territories of any one of the three nations. Constituent rights do not exist without territory. People or nations do not exist without territory.

It is possible that this is some kind of new maneuver by the Croatian side in this coalition, in this very complicated situation in the former Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, but I do not see what the maneuver could achieve, unless perhaps the Muslims and Croats have decided to create their own Bosnia-Hercegovina—that is, to unite their provinces within the former Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina into a state entity. In any case, it is something that, even if it does not completely suit us, we would not have anything against.

The future state community would then be made up of two state entities. This is one possible explanation. The other possible explanation is that it is a prelude to the creation of a greater Croatia, which would include the parts of the former Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina in which the Muslims and Croats are in the majority. In other words, these would be the regions that belong to them on the basis of their constituent right.

[Jankovic] Finally, what do you expect from the further course of negotiations, especially with regard to the Serbian stand at the conference?

[Buha] I hope that both the cochairmen and the UN Secretary General, as well as the chairman of the Security Council, realize that the Serbian side cannot accept the proposed borders of the provinces. I also believe that, during the negotiations here in New York and in Geneva, we convinced them that these borders were conceptually wrong. I believe they have finally agreed that their own criteria were not respected when the borders of the provinces were drawn, and they have realized their mistakes.

[Words indistinct] now the cochairmen, even during the official talks, said that it was a mistake that Bosnia-Hercegovina was recognized without the consent of the Serbian people. The sovereign right of the people to decide on their fate was therefore violated, and all we hear now is: What can be done, the mistake has already [redacted] and the solution will finally [redacted] power, that is, by force. [redacted] of the people participating [redacted] told us what we could expect [redacted] the proposed maps. The picture [redacted] slightly [word indistinct] in this respect. [redacted] was a mention of military intervention, then in a few months, something like (?Iraq), and so forth.

In our reply we cited the plan of Mr. Clinton, the six-point plan. One of these six points explicitly states that the United States will not use force to impose any solutions, that is to say, that it will support the solution that all three sides agree on. We think our peace plan for the contentious territories is an opportunity, first, as I said, to arrive at a just solution, and then to employ the UN forces on work that would, in this short period of 32 years [as heard], be rational.

Presidency Member Rejects Transitional Accord

LD0603195993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1641 GMT 6 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Mar (TANJUG)—Mirko Pejanovic, member of the rump presidency of former Bosnia-Hercegovina, said today that neither Alija Izetbegovic nor any member of the Bosnian delegation in New York have been granted authorization by appropriate state bodies to conclude biparty, in particular binational, agreements. Pejanovic was commenting today on the Muslim-Croatian agreement for a transitional presidency, SRNA reports from Pale.

Commenting on the New York agreement on transitional power between Muslim and Croatian representatives for Sarajevo Radio, Pejanovic said that "this agreement conceals an intention to keep one's position during the transitional period." He said this move is "premature and unproductive from every point of view," SRNA reports.

Pejanovic voiced concern that the agreement "will be just one in a series of unsuccessful and failed agreements between the Croatian Democratic Union and the Party of Democratic Action, one of many such agreements we have seen during this war," SRNA says.

UN Said To Press for Army Withdrawal From RSK

LD0703205793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2002 GMT 7 Mar 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Knin, March 7 (TANJUG)—United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) Deputy Director of Civilian Affairs Cedric Thornberry said on Sunday [7 March] that the U.N. would exert strong pressure on Croatia to abide by Paragraph One of Security Council Resolution 802, the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) Information Ministry said.

Point 1 of the resolution demands the Croatian troops' withdrawal to the positions they held before their aggression on U.N.-protected southern parts of the RSK.

Croatia launched an aggression on the RSK on January 22 and has not stopped its assaults despite Security Council warnings.

In its statement about Thornberry's meeting with RSK Prime Minister Zdravko Zecevic, the RSK Information Ministry said that the RSK government officials firmly rejected Thornberry's proposal to place the Croatian-occupied part of the RSK under UNPROFOR's control and underscored that this part has been and would remain an integral part of RSK's territory and that all changes were out of the question.

At a news conference after his meeting with Zecevic, Thornberry said that the RSK and Croatian delegations would continue negotiations in Geneva next week. Thornberry said the talks were necessary to find a way for the Croatian forces' withdrawal from the occupied territories and the administration of the territories after the withdrawal.

Speaking about these talks over Radio Kragujevac on Sunday, RSK Foreign Minister Slobodan Jarcevic underscored that member of the negotiating team Gert Arens would submit a draft agreement, which would first be initialed in Belgrade and then in Zagreb.

"After that, the Croatian Army and police are to withdraw from the occupied RSK regions within five days and the RSK police and authorities are to move in", Jarcevic said.

Asked about what would happen if the Croats failed to initial the agreement, Jarcevic said that this could not be ruled out, but noted that the Croats were weak on the front and were thus forced to sign the agreement.

Commenting the failure of the Security Council to include in its agenda the 'ethnic cleansing' of over 300,000 Serbs in Croatia, Jarcevic said that outcry against the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia and Montenegro and U.S. President Bill Clinton's threats of new sanctions against them have enabled Croatia to carry out its ethnic cleansing plan.

Official Discusses Refugees, Upcoming Conference

LD0603212593 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 6 Mar 93

[Text] Displaced people will first return to Sector East, Adalbert Rebic, head of the government's office for refugees, said at a meeting today with the community of refugees and officials of Osijek municipality. They discussed preparations for the conference of displaced persons of Croatia, which will be held on 19 March in Osijek.

Rebic stressed that Croatia is now sheltering 652,125 displaced people and refugees and that despite all efforts by the international community and the Croatian Government, ethnic cleansing continues in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Croatian areas have become a frequent target of attacks and shelling.

Talking about the work of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], Adalbert Rebic said that despite the Republic of Croatia's cooperation with UNPROFOR representatives, the results are not sufficiently effective. Croats are still being expelled every day. Since 25 january alone, 73 Croats have been driven out of Bapska and 363 Croats from the Knin and Drnis regions.

He also stressed that since the UNPROFOR arrived in Croatia, 3,000 Croats have been expelled from the temporarily occupied areas and 500 have been killed. He also noted that not a single displaced person has returned home.

Refugees briefed Rebic on preparations for the conference of the displaced persons of Croatia, stressing that about 40 speakers have been registered so far and that many participants from Croatia and the world have announced that they will attend.

Miksa, Albania's Hoxha Sign Economic Agreement

AU0603184893 Tirana ATA in English 1112 GMT 5 Mar 93

[Text] Tirana, March 5 (ATA)—Minister of Foreign Trade and Economic Relations of Albania Artan Hoxha arrived in Zagreb at the invitation of the Foreign Minister of Croatia Mr. Skrabalo.

On the same day he met and conducted talks with the Croatian minister of trade and tourism, Mr. Miksa, regarding the expansion of the economic and trade cooperation between the two countries in concrete fields and of mutual interest, such as tourism, energy, pharmaceutical industry, and goods' exchange. In conclusion they signed the agreement of economic cooperation between Albania and Croatia.

In the afternoon, the work group headed by Mr. Hoxha met the Croatian deputy minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Simak. They exchanged views on the situation in the

region and bilateral relations. The Croatian party expressed the desire for broad and intensive relations. The opening of the respective diplomatic representations and the establishment of direct air and maritime links will also serve this end.

Croat Soldiers Reportedly Killed in Krajina

AU0703155093 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Mar 93

[Report by Danko Peric from Knin]

[Text] Cedric Thornberry, deputy UNPROFOR [UN Protective Force] commander and head of the civilian department of the UN peace forces in the former SFRY, will arrive in Knin this afternoon. Along with talks with Zdravko Zecevic, prime minister in the Krajina government, and his associates, Thornberry will also visit refugee centers and hold a news conference.

According to the press center of the headquarters of the Army of the Republic of Serbia Krajina, the Croatian infantry yesterday tried three times to penetrate Serb lines between Policnik and (?Buterini) in the Zadar hinterland. They pounded civilian targets near Obrovac and the greater Benkovac area with artillery. Civilian targets in Mala Cista in the Skradin hinterland and south of Drnis were targets last night.

With its energetic defense, the Krajina army managed to repel the attackers. The Croatian side had 14 killed and many wounded. We have learned that the Croat saboteurs incurred their largest losses in [name indistinct] in Donje Biljane near Benkovac.

The Serbian positions and civilian targets attacked on the Lika front were at Bocno Brdo in Teslingrad, Berlata, and Divoselo. Aid is arriving in Benkovac, but this place is not forgetting its brothers even in the worst of times. They sent a truck with three tonnes of food to Ilijas.

Hadzic Confident Croatia To Accept Agreement

LD0503221193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1943 GMT 5 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Mar (TANJUG)—Goran Hadzic, president of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], said in Belgrade this evening that Herbert Okun and Gert Arens, mediators in the Geneva talks between the RSK and Croatian authorities, have given their consent to the draft agreement proposed by the Serb side and expressed conviction that Croatia would also accept it.

"As you already know, Croatia closely cooperates with Germany, Mr. Arens is a German, and since he gave his consent to the draft we are expecting the same from President Tudjman, because he never does anything without first consulting the Germans," Hadzic said. "In this case," he added, "the talks could resume soon."

The RSK delegation, led by Hadzic, returned to Belgrade from the second round of talks late this afternoon and held a news conference at the international press center.

President Hadzic stressed that the talks in New York and Geneva showed that the Serb delegation became a negotiator whose stands were finally being taken into consideration and that "Croatia, as the aggressor, is not in a position to impose conditions."

"We had no contacts or talks with members of the Croatian delegation and the situation will remain the same until Croatia observes the terms of UN Security Council Resolution 802," he said.

"This is the basic request outlined in the draft agreement proposed by the RSK delegation as a basis for further talks," explained Hadzic. "We are proceeding from the stand that the situation resulting from aggression cannot be a basis for talks and neither can the consequences of this aggression be recognized. With this stand we are defending not only our territory and rights, but also the integrity of the United Nations."

According to Hadzic, the agreement offered to the Croatian side envisages that its forces withdraw from the territory Croatia occupied on 22 January and that Serb civil authority be established in these areas.

"We will once again take our arms back to the depots; i.e., have them placed under UN control, as envisaged by the Vance peace plan," Hadzic said.

According to him, this agreement is still offering the same concessions; i.e., the RSK is prepared to place the Maslenica bridge, Zemunik airport, and Peruca dam under UN Protection Force control, while both sides in the conflict would have the right of supervision.

The agreement envisaged the opening of a "blue road" from Maslenica to Zadar (a portion of the Adriatic motorway) which would be controlled by the peacekeeping forces, which would also guarantee the road's safety to all users.

Serb Army Assures Arkan's Guard Welcome

AU0503193193 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Feb 93 p 7

[Report by M. Cetnik: "Is Raznjatovic an Undesirable Person in Krajina?"]

[Text] Controversial statements of political, police, and military leaders of Krajina, that have been constantly issued in the last several days, have raised many questions among the public. The statement of Milan Martic [Republic of Serbian Krajina interior minister], according to which General Mile Novakovic, chief of the General Staff of the Krajina Army, had ordered that Zeljko Raznjatovic Arkan, commander of the Volunteer Guard, leave the Krajina territory, was denied by the Krajina Prime Minister Zdravko Zecevic in his statement to POLITIKA. Zecevic said that the government

did not share the views of minister Martic, and that his statement should be understood as a volatile and private opinion.

On the question of whether Zecevic and Novakovic discussed the Martic's statement, Zecevic said that the government was not familiar with the order issued by Martic and that more detailed information would be given by Colonel Kosta Novakovic, spokesman of the General Staff. At today's news conference Colonel Novakovic neither denied nor confirmed Martic's statement:

"The Army considers all the decisions issued by the civil authorities. Our job is to defend the country, and there is no need to further discuss the issue."

According to Colonel Novakovic, both in the Serbian Army, and in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, there is an absolute unity of views, because they are assigned with the same task. The Serbian Army has no major problems with the volunteers.

"Some individuals and groups in Krajina have recently started to suggest that we no longer need the volunteers here—the Serbian patriots who came to help our people when they most needed it. The General Staff emphasizes once more that the volunteers, and all the real patriots, honest and friendly people, are always welcome to fight the Ustasha aggressors together with us, under the command of the General Staff. Such help is particularly welcome now, when a political solution is finally in sight, and when Croatia piles up its troops, and with daily attacks constantly provokes clashes along almost the entire Krajina border. Of course, I stress again that all those who come here with adventurous or other similar designs, and all those who place Their personal interests before common interests, are not contributing our joint fight for saving our people, and liberating every inch of our territory.

"Because of more and more frequent subjective commentaries in the army, and among officers, I want to stress that Krajina army is a Serbian army, and there is enough place for all the patriots," Colonel Novakovic said.

He particularly emphasized that the contribution of professional officers who had come to Krajina, and who are originally from Krajina, decisively stabilized the situation on the front. Commenting the recent assessment of police authorities in eastern Slavonia, Colonel Novakovic said:

"I decidedly claim that our members did not take part in those events. It was probably, as we assume, a part of the former territorial defense soldiers, who had been organized either by individuals, or by former employees of the Defense Ministry. The Serbian Army did not demand the suspension of any manager, or director, or any official. As we understand, it was the people who got out of the authority control."

Asked to give his opinion of the proposal presented by the Minister of Justice Vojin Susa demanding that the courts martial in Krajina be abolished, Colonel Novakovic said that the issue would be solved in the legislative process dealing with all the lacking laws, which could be soon expected.

Arkan Defends Activities in Krajina

AU0503182393 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Feb 93 p 7

[Report by Rade Rankovic: "Arkan: I Am a Member of the RSK Government"]

[Excerpts] Commenting on the accusations delivered by Milan Martic, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK], saying that Zeljko Raznjatovic Arkan, commander of the Serbian Volunteer Guard, should leave Krajina "because of his meddling in politics and cruel treatment of the local people," Arkan says: "I have been a member of the RSK government for almost a year (since 26 February 1992), and I have the right to meddle in politics."

We Met With Panic in Krajina

[Passage omitted] As Arkan says, "only deserters can resent his presence."

"When we came to Krajina, we met with panic and chaos. We returned deserters to the army, and organized defense. So it is only them who can resent us, because we treated them cruelly, as Martic says. However, I do not think it is cruel to return them, to prevent them from running away."

As for the accusation that he took part in the shuffle of police authorities in Vukovar, Arkan explains: That day he was on his way from Benkovci to Erdut, and while passing through Vukovar he came upon armed people at barricades: "They said that they stood against Ilija Kojic, deputy minister of internal affairs." [passage omitted]

The Way of Changing a Minister

"I agreed to suspend Kojic—because I was familiar with the issue. However, I was against the rebellion, the way they opposed him. One knows the democratic way to change a minister," Arkan stresses.

On the accusations that "Arkan's Colonel Mihajlo Ulemek has been terrorizing Obrovac," Arkan says that he absolutely supports his colonel:

"Obrovac was in a state of panic and chaos when we came there. Commander of the Fourth Brigade Jova Dopudja was the one to order the people to leave Obrovac. Which is to say, it is a pure treason we are talking about. He was drunk and is to blame for the whole brigade deserting the fight. It is quite normal that my colonel was enraged and that he beat him.

"The entire problem is about their personal conflict. We saved Obrovac, we brought the relief in the town—17 trucks of food, fuel, medicines, and cigarettes," Arkan emphasizes.

At the same time he rejects accusations delivered against Seselj's [Serbian Radical Party and paramilitary leader] volunteers, claiming that they are outstanding fellows and fighters. According to Arkan, the only thing that happened is this: One of the guys whose friend had been killed fired his machine gun and damaged a radiator.

"We are going to stay in Krajina—because of the Serbian people, not because of Martic. He is not the one to be asked. Krajina is not his property—so that one should ask him if Serbian volunteers could come or not," Arkan maintains, at the same time responding to the question if he is coming back to Krajina:

"Of course I am coming back. The guard has not moved—it is still in Krajina. I am here to clear up with the media all these attacks on me and my men, the attacks of the so-called fake army, that had been completely scattered when we came.

"I appeal for Serbian cooperation. I would not like the people to suffer because of any person's vanity. As far as I am concerned, there was no incident and has never been any," Arkan concluded.

Djukic Demands More Rights for Serbs

AU0503191593 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 28 Feb 93 p 3

[Report by Andrea Latinovic on news conference by the Serbian National Party; place and date not given: "Does Croatia Want Serbs At All?"]

[Text] Zagreb— The Serbian National Party [SNS] maintains that the political crisis in Croatia is more complicated and will longer last than the Bosnian crisis, so that it is very important that Croatia not repeat mistakes that have already been made. According to the SNS, "Hadzic and his company cannot represent Serbs in Croatia, and Croatia should not negotiate with those who cannot legitimately make decisions on the Serbian issue." These are some of the statements given at the news conference held on Saturday, at which, apart from the SNS chairman Milan Djukic and Vice Chairman Veselin Pejnovic, also Veljko Miljevic and Dr. Ljuba Stefanovic took part.

"Croatia has committed many mistakes regarding Bosnia-Hercegovina and Serbs in Croatia and forgotten that human rights are the basis of the democratic development. The official Croatian policy has overestimated the role of its foreign policy, while it has underestimated its relation to citizens," Djukic said, adding that "Croatia has merged into the international courses, but only figuratively," and that it should "make a major turn toward the most important questions." Because, as the SNS sees it, "when Croatia starts protecting the rights of Serbs, only then will Jasenovac [concentration camp in fascist Croatia during the World war II] be forgotten."

Discussing the other issue—how many Serbs should be in the Parliament—Pejanovic repeated that the results of the SNS in the recent elections were very satisfying, but he emphasized that "six Serbian representatives had somehow 'disappeared,' although the SNS had won many votes in the elections."

Reporters were also told that "the pressure on Slovenes, Montenegrins, and Macedonians in Croatia was getting stronger and stronger lately," and that "the government was the most responsible for the implementation of minority rights." Djukic thinks, however, that "disregarding human rights need not be the major problem, but such is the impotence of the authorities to terminate such a practice. Croatia has to differentiate between the gangs like those of Vojislav Seselj [Serbian Radical Party and paramilitary leader] and Zeljko Raznjatovic Arkan [parliamentary deputy in Serbia and paramilitary leader], and the Serbs in Croatia, because the former will leave, while the Serbs in Croatia will remain, and bear up with consequences." Djukic also denoted Imotski and Bjelovar as two major "critical points" in Croatia, where "killing, burning, and dismissals from jobs still exist," and added that also President Tudjman knew that, concluding with the question: "Does Croatia want the Serbs at all?"

[Box, p 3]

"Why Isn't Djukic in New York?"

On the question of why he is not included in the negotiating team in New York, Djukic said: "The answer is to be found in the Croatian policy." Miljevic added that "Croatian negotiators discussed issues with illegitimate representatives of the Serbs, who did not recognize Croatian state and its sovereignty, as opposed to the SNS." Pejnovic also joined the argument citing the recent statement by Mario Nobilo that "he did not know who the representatives of Serbs in Croatia were." Pejnovic said that "by his statement Nobilo negated not only the legitimately elected representatives of the Serbs but also the Parliament itself."

Conditions for UNPROFOR Extension Discussed

93BA0651C Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 12 Feb 93 pp 6-7

[Article by Marko Barisic: "Croatia Sets Conditions"]

[Text] *If Croatia were to refuse to extend the mandate of the UN forces, open war would break out between Croatia and Serbia in a few days, according to the U.S. Administration's appraisal.*

Negotiations between representatives of the Croatian state and UN diplomats on extending the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] mandate on Croatian soil have

entered into somewhat unexpected waters. No one supposed that the option of the "blue helmets" leaving after their one-year mandate is up (on 21 February) would be introduced into the game. Specifically, it was expected (especially after Cedric Thornberry, the UNPROFOR head for civilian affairs, said that Croatia will not decide whether they stay) that the Security Council would impose a solution on Croatia without much consultation. Through his statement, however, Thornberry just reconfirmed once again his lack of diplomatic feeling, because the situation surrounding the presence of the peacekeeping forces has become precariously complicated. Even to the extent that U.S. President Bill Clinton called German Minister of Foreign Affairs Klaus Kinkel to urge the latter to "use his influence to talk the Croats into accepting an extension of the UNPROFOR mandate."

The Croats said yes, but under certain conditions. The leader of the Croatian negotiating team, Minister of Defense Susak, pulled these conditions out of his bag and put them on the table of Butrus-Ghali and the inescapable Vance and Owen. Afterwards Butrus-Ghali requested (and got) a one-month time out, while Vance and Owen, as the chairmen of the Conference on Yugoslavia, committed themselves to finding a solution through negotiations with the Croats and the rebel Serbs. We learned of these conditions, albeit unofficially, from a member of the Croatian negotiating team.

Plan for UNPROFOR

First: the demilitarization of all UNPA's [UN protected areas]. This means that all military formations must be removed from all currently occupied areas. The Croatian Armed Forces would not be in the "pink zones"; instead, only Croatian police forces would be there. And in the UNPA's, there would be only police forces with a composition proportional to the local population according to the 1991 census. The police would be armed only with so-called side arms (i.e., only pistols, no rifles).

Second: After the completion of full demilitarization, Croatia stipulates that control of heavy weaponry not be exercised based on the existing model (little more than bicycle locks on the warehouses); instead, the complete destruction of heavy weaponry should be undertaken. If that is unacceptable, then Croatia will allow it to be moved elsewhere. As a high-ranking official told us, let it be transported freely to Belgrade, but Croatia will not accept heavy weaponry remaining on its soil after demilitarization, regardless of the warehouses and possible control.

Third: After the completion of full demilitarization and the removal of heavy weaponry from the UNPA's, Croatia makes an extension of the "blue helmets'" mandate conditional on the establishment of primary communications. This means putting into service the Zagreb-Split railroad line, the highway to the sea through Plitvica and Knin, the Zagreb-Slavonksi Brod highway, and the Osijek-Vukovar-Zupanja road. And naturally other less important routes as well. Travel safety would be maintained by UNPROFOR and a police force with a composition proportional to the population, according to the latest census.

Fourth: after these preliminaries, the return of the refugee and exiled population. But not only declaratively, as has been the case thus far; instead, the United Nations must establish deadlines by which it thinks that it can ensure that people can return. After these deadlines have passed, if this has not been ensured with the help of the existing peacekeeping forces, then the help of other forces will have to be summoned as well (it is reasonable to expect that not everyone will be able to return, since a lot has been destroyed, but the conditions must be created for a return to life).

Fifth: control over Croatian border crossings. With the so-called FR [Federal Republic of] Yugoslavia and with Bosnia-Hercegovina, there are 42 border crossings that are currently in the hands of Serbian paramilitary forces. Thus, these are border crossings at internationally recognized Croatian borders. During the first phase, Croatia allows UNPROFOR forces to exercise international control over Croatia's international borders. During the second phase, the time of which is specified, the border is taken over by Croatian border police and customs officials. This would mean not only the declarative recognition of the border (according to Security Council Resolution 769, which stipulates the inviolability of the borders), but also its consummation.

The Croatian official substantiates this position by adding that this act would mean that the Security Council resolution on sanctions against Serbia would begin to be respected. It is known that they are currently being violated by having oil arrive in UNPA's marked, for example, "Port of Vukovar, Croatia," after which it is sent on to Serbia. This act would also halt the unhindered deliveries to the so-called Krajinas from Serbia.

But UN diplomats object that Croatia in this way wants to starve the population in those regions, and they propose that economic sanctions be imposed on the so-called Krajinas as well. Croatia is vigorously opposed to having parts of its territory subjected to sanctions. "We will undertake measures of confidence, whereby we will supply them with goods, but for Croatian dinars," Croatian representatives respond. This would introduce the Croatian payment system, and with demilitarization complete and the flow of goods from Serbia halted, the local rebel military leadership would no longer be able to survive.

The Croatian plan is ambitious but realistic, formulated by creatively combining all the UN resolutions relating to the former Yugoslavia. Moreover, calming down the situation in the UNPA's would reduce tensions in Bosnia-Hercegovina as well.

Consequently, the new UNPROFOR mandate (if there is one) must include instruments not only for preserving

but also for establishing peace. The previous model contained de facto recognition of the results achieved by aggression. If it is thought that UNPROFOR is inadequate, then Croatia proposes NATO forces (around 60,000 soldiers), which would use force to implement Security Council decisions. Specifically, everything is negotiable except for Croatian sovereignty in the currently occupied areas.

In order to demonstrate its good intentions, Croatia, under UN pressure, agreed to talk (but not negotiate) with the rebel Serb side. Because of these Croatian proposals—which were not greeted with enthusiasm by UN diplomats, but neither were they rejected—the rebel Serbian side did not come to the talks last week.

Now, Goran Hadzic and his entourage have arrived in New York, significantly, with the same visa as Karadzic and with the same radius of movement (10 blocks around the UN building), which means that he too is considered a war criminal. On Thursday Hadzic spoke with Vance and Owen, who in turn announced that they would "break" him.

It is also not unimportant that just recently a report on crimes in Vukovar turned up at UN headquarters as an official document; the clear conclusion in that report is that the Serbs committed crimes against wounded soldiers, prisoners, and civilians in that city. The report goes even further, and a new phase of criminal investigation is being announced. The Croatian delegation is also playing the card of the war crimes trial, which the United States recently announced.

Reasons for Optimism

From all that has been said it is possible to conclude that the Croatian delegation in New York enjoys the status appropriate to a sovereign state and member of the United Nations, while the Serbian representatives are stigmatized as war criminals. Although tactically unfavorable situations are possible, the Croatian delegation maintains that it has strategic reasons for optimism.

The Serbs often emphasize that the Vance Plan does not state anywhere that the occupied areas must be returned to Croatian control. That is true, but at the time when the plan was signed, Croatia was not internationally recognized, there was no resolution condemning Serbian crimes, sanctions had not been imposed on Serbia, Bosnia-Hercegovina was not recognized.... The facts are different now. U.S. Secretary of State Christopher Bartholomew [as published] explicitly emphasized in a recent speech that Bosnia-Hercegovina is an "integral state." That position applies to Croatia as well. Indeed, it confirms that the Croatian conditions for extending the mandate are legitimate. And the fact that a campaign on the supposed unification, as they call it, of all Serbian states is being waged in the Serbian media right now should not upset us too much, because they cannot implement it. Croatia simply no longer wishes to extend the status quo, which is the goal of Serbian policy. That is why it is acting decisively. Besides, the main tone to all the talks and negotiations in New York is set by Lord David Owen, who has apparently decided to be stubborn. In talks with the Croatian delegation, he has repeated again and again, "Knin is a city in the Republic of Croatia."

No one can predict the final outcome of the problem surrounding extending the UNPROFOR mandate. We will see soon whether the UN forces will remain and under what conditions, or whether they might leave if no agreement is reached. A high-ranking official says, "My cautious estimation is that the UN forces will not leave Croatia. A diplomatic game has begun that, like the Conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina, will unfold in cycles, but only over the coming month. The last move will be made by Croatia. If we were to refuse to extend the mandate of the UN forces, open war would break out between Croatia and Serbia in a few days, according to the U.S. Administration's appraisal."

First Private Airline in Operation

93BA0653A Ljubljana SLOVENEC in Slovene 15 Feb 93 p 3

[STA article: "Anic Airways—Croatian Private Airline"]

[Text] Split—This morning at 0915, an airplane named Vila Velebita landed at the Resnik airport in Split. This was the first commercial flight by an airplane of the first Croatian private airline.

With this flight, the company, although after a seven-day delay, opened a regular daily flight between Zagreb and Split, and thus announced competition for Croatia Airlines, which was previously the only Croatian air carrier. The airplane, designated ATR-42, was manufactured in Toulouse in France. It can hold 46 passengers, and will also fly regularly on the Zagreb-Dubrovnik route.

The office of Dalmatia's Kompas, formerly a part of the Slovene Kompas, which sells the new airline's airplane tickets, says that the prices are the same as Croatia Airways, and predicts that Anic Airways will soon link Split with other cities throughout Europe.

EBRD Confirms Loan Package

AU0503152193 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 24 Feb 93 p 1

[Report by M. J.: "EBRD Will Help Slovenia"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 23 February—The board of directors of the European Bank for Reconstruction in Development [EBRD] yesterday confirmed the bank's strategy toward Slovenia, Finance Minister Mitja Gaspari, who yesterday led the Slovene delegation on a visit to the EBRD's London headquarters, said at today's news conference. Over the next few years, the bank will cofinance projects in the public and private sectors. It is supposed to allocate 55 million European currency units [ECU] worth of loans for roads (1 ECU equals $1.2), the same amount for railroads, 70 million ECUs for a hydroelectric system, and 24 million ECUs for projects in the finance sector, banking, and the restructuring and privatization of companies.

The total value of these projects together with domestic sources of financing would amount to approximately 440 million ECUs. This year we are supposed to use the first batch, worth up to 60 million ECUs. Slovenia expects to be admitted into the World Bank on Thursday [26 February]. A regular IMF mission today ended a visit to Ljubljana.

Defines Strategy

BR0803111493 London HERMES Database in English 23 Feb 93

[Press release by the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development: "European Bank Strategy for Slovenia Stresses Potential for Accelerated Economic Development"]

[Text] Slovenia has one of the most open economies in central and eastern Europe with a good basis for accelerated economic development, according to a strategy for Slovenia approved yesterday by the Board of Directors of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

The Bank's strategy for Slovenia, the first operational policy prepared by an international institution since the country became independent, stresses the importance of increased exports and direct foreign investment, along with financial and other infrastructure reforms, enterprise restructuring and privatisation for economic recovery.

Jacques Attali, President of the European Bank, said: 'Although Slovenia experienced the worst fall of output for decades in 1991 following the outbreak of war in former Yugoslavia and the collapse of CMEA [Council for Mutual Economic Assistance] trade, it remains the wealthiest and most developed republic in the former Yugoslav federation. Slovenia has made great strides in its move to a democratic state: its new Constitution guarantees all civil rights, including freedom of religion and the media and the rights of individuals belonging to ethnic minorities.'

Likewise, the strategy addresses the importance of the development of small and medium-size enterprises. In addition, given Slovenia's geographical location in central Europe and the importance of regional integration, the strategy emphasises Bank support for the transport and communication sectors.

Slovenia was represented at today's Board meeting by Mr Mitja Gaspari, Minister of Finance for Slovenia and Governor of the European Bank for Slovenia, and Mr. Dusan Hocevar, Chief of the International Department of the Ministry of Finance and Alternate Governor of the Bank.

THE BANK'S STRATEGY FOR SLOVENIA PRIORITIES AND INITIATIVES

In its strategy, the Bank focuses on five main priority areas: enterprise restructuring and privatisation; small and medium-size enterprises; financial sector and banking reform; transport and communications; and energy efficiency.

Enterprise Restructuring and Privatisation

The Bank will:

—select and develop restructuring and privatisation transactions with two/three prospective Slovene companies as pioneer cases for a more comprehensive future Special Restructuring Programme in Slovenia;

—directly participate in financially viable and primarily export-oriented investment projects in the competitive sector in the form of debt and equity financing;

—in support of its overall restructuring activities, consider technical co- operation within the government's programme for Revitalisation of Enterprises'.

Small and Medium-Size Enterprises

The Bank will:

—assist the existing Fund for SMEs [self-managed enterprises] to help redefine its operational policy and organisational structure to eventually become an Apex agency for a credit line for SMEs. Equity financing for the Fund will also be considered;

—cooperate with local financial institutions and investment companies to upgrade their capability for financial intermediation and examine the possibility of becoming partners in the agency line for SME financing;

—examine the feasibility of the establishment of a government majority-held industrialisation fund, based on participation by a local bank consortium and possible foreign banks.

Financial Sector and Banking Reform

The Bank will:

—examine its role in the bank rehabilitation programme, including equity and/or loan involvement in prospective local banks;

—consider selective investments in private sector financial service companies (e.g. leasing, venture capital and insurance);

—provide technical cooperation in modern banking techniques, including the training of managers.

Transport and Communication

The Bank will:

—support the upgrading of transport facilities (road and rail), especially along key east-west routes;

—examine and define its role in a global telecommunications development programme.

Energy Efficiency

The Bank will:

—support projects which improve energy efficiency (e.g. the rehabilitation of hydropower) and increase storage capacity.

The Bank will also address issues in other sectors on a case-by-case basis. In particular, environmental aspects deserve attention. The Bank will also favourably consider foreign exchange earning projects in the service sectors (e.g. tourism), as well as measures to support institutional development in various sectors.

Peterle Meets Minority Representatives

93BA0653F Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 16 Feb 93 p 3

[Article by Lojze Kante: "Lojze Peterle and the Minority Reject a Revision of Osimo"]

[Text] *It would be more rational to plan new agreements, the Slovene foreign minister thought.*

Ljubljana, 15 Feb—Slovene Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle, before yesterday's meeting with Italian Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo at the opening of the Neblo international border crossing in Goriska Brda, spoke at noon with a delegation of the Slovenes in Italy and a representative of the Union of Italians, Roberto Battelli.

The talks dealt with relations between Slovenia and Italy, with an emphasis on the minority question. Peterle expressed his conviction that after the stagnation of relations in recent months, new possibilities would be opened up. Proceeding from the Maccanica draft protection law, he noted that it was obsolete because it counted on the coexistence of differences, but now the time of joint cooperation on an equal footing was coming. Both Peterle and the minority representatives emphasized that Slovenia should not consent to revising the Osimo agreements, but rather to building on them wherever there are needs and possibilities for that. With respect to the protection of minorities, it was emphasized that the Slovenes are now preparing a draft protection law themselves and that both minorities should be involved in future talks.

The representatives of Slovenes from the Gorizia and Udine provinces thought that after the opening of the Neblo crossing, new initiatives should also be considered. At the Uceja crossing there is still a macadam road on our side, which is an obstacle to more traffic.

The representative from the Union of Italians particularly emphasized the need for equal treatment of the Italian minority, and resolving its material status through denationalization. Otherwise, concern was expressed in the talks over the pressures from Trieste nationalist circles that were even denying Slovenia's sovereignty. It would therefore be very dangerous to consent to changes in the agreements, and instead it would be more rational to plan new agreements for the areas that remain open.

Federal

Cosic Meets New UNPROFOR Chief

LD0503220693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2118 GMT 5 Mar 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, March 5 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic assessed Friday [5 March] that the U.N. peacekeeping force (UNPROFOR) should remain on the territory of the former Yugoslavia until a lasting and stable peace was attained.

Cosic said this in the talk with new UNPROFOR chief, Swedish General Lars-Eric Wahlgren, whom he received Friday night in Belgrade, Cosic's special advisor Svetozar Stojanovic said.

In Stojanovic's view, Gen. Wahlgren said he would try to apply the experience gained in the previous peace missions he took part in.

After the talk, Gen. Wahlgren told newsmen Cosic promised him full support in establishing peace and recalled that UNPROFOR mandate terminated on March 31.

He said that time was running out, but that he hoped a compromise solution would be found.

Stojanovic told newsmen that the talk was also attended by UNPROFOR Deputy Chief and Head of the Civil Section Cedric Thornberry.

In Stojanovic's view, Thornberry said that in the talks in Geneva on Croatian aggression on the Republic of Serb Krajina, a U.N.-protected area, accord was attained quickly that Croatia must withdraw from to the position it held previously and that the Serb side must place heavy weapons under U.N. control.

New UNPROFOR chief was also received Friday by Gen. Zivota Panic, chief of the general staff of the Army of Yugoslavia.

'Restrictive' Draft Budget To Be Submitted

LD0603210593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1948 GMT 6 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, March 6 (TANJUG)—The budget of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.) is to be of a restrictive and partly stabilizing character, F.R.Y. Prime Minister Radoje Kontic and the Prime Ministers of the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro Nikola Sainovic and Milo Djukanovic agreed in Belgrade on Saturday [6 March].

This means that the participation of public spending in the available social product (approximately GNP) will be reduced from 1992's 70 percent to 55 percent by the end of the year, the Federal Information Ministry said on Saturday evening.

The three prime ministers also agreed that the budgetary revenues would come mostly from real funds to reduce primary issue financing, the Information Ministry said.

In addition to its conventional functions, the draft federal budget, to be submitted to the Yugoslav Parliament in a few days, is to have economic and social functions.

This means that the budget will secure adequate funds for the protection of workers, who have been temporarily left without work due to the international sanctions against the F.R.Y.

Late last May, the U.N. Security Council introduced comprehensive sanctions against the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia and Montenegro because of the F.R.Y.'s alleged involvement in the Bosnian civil war, although the Yugoslav People's Army had withdrawn from the former Yugoslav Republic in mid-May.

With its sanctions, the international community has endangered the existence of F.R.Y.'s civilian population the most.

Former Prime Minister Panic To Return to U.S.

AU0503132893 Paris AFP in English 1325 GMT 5 Mar 93

[Excerpt] Belgrade, March 5 (AFP)—Milan Panic, the former prime minister of the rump Yugoslavia, intends to move back to the United States to return as head of his company, ICN pharmaceuticals, his spokesman said in a statement here.

The communique, reported Friday [5 March] by the VECERNJE NOVOSTI paper, did not say exactly when Panic would leave, only that he would "quit Yugoslavia now that the new Federal Government has taken office."

"I plan to return to the United States to resume management of my company," he said in the statement issued from ICN's Belgrade division. [passage omitted]

Serbian Bishop Condemns Crimes Against Muslims

93BA0647C Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 12 Feb 93 p 20

[Statement by Bishop Atanasije of Zahumje and Hercegovina made to Momcilo Grubac, federal minister for human rights: "Serbian Shame"]

[Text] In connection with the dramatic and disturbing news from Trebinje (about Muslims driven out and destruction of the old mosque), so we have been informed, the opinion of Mr. Atanasije (Jeftic), bishop of Zahumje and Hercegovina, was requested from Belgrade.

Asked who called him from the federal government and what he replied, the bishop told NIN:

"At the request of President Cosic, Minister Grubac asked for my opinion about what is happening to the Muslims in Trebinje. I said: 'I do not know you. I know the president well, and he knows me. The president said in one of his statements not so long ago that we in the church should not engage in politics. Why, then, at this point is the president asking me about the shame, and not the only one, inflicted on the Serbian people from above, from Dedinje, Pale, and Trebinje? Who is asking the poor bishop of Hercegovina about anything concerning the Serbian people in Hercegovina?'

"This is not the only shame inflicted on the Serbian people by the government of which the president is a part. He took no interest when Serbian churches and villages in Hercegovina were destroyed and burned and when a good part of our territory, especially the Trebinje region, was given to the Croatian occupiers by the stroke of a pen. I regret that this shame has fallen to my people, but those who thoughtlessly make decisions about the destiny of the people ask neither the people nor us. I am pained by the suffering of every human being, but most of all by the suffering of my people and its shrines on both sides of the Neretva and in the Konjic region, where everything of ours was destroyed and obliterated."

Serbia

Government Welcomes Tripartite Accord

LD0603195093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1656 GMT 6 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Mar (TANJUG)—The government of the Republic of Serbia welcomes the agreement on military issues signed by the representatives of the three constitutive nations in Bosnia-Hercegovina in the framework of the peace efforts of the Geneva conference, the republican Ministry of Information announced today.

The government believes that the agreement will be respected by all sides and that its implementation will provide a speedy and permanent end to the fighting throughout the republic. The government therefore sends an appeal to all parties in the civil war immediately to halt military clashes whose continuation poses a threat to the peace process and the results achieved so far, a statement says.

The government expects the agreement to lead to a permanent cease-fire and that all open issues will be solved by political means and through consensus without imposed solutions, with equal respect for the legitimate national rights of all the three nations, the statement stresses.

Sainovic Discusses Train Abduction With Lukic

AU0603200793 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 6 Mar 93

[Text] A meeting between Serbian Prime Minister Nikola Sainovic and Vladimir Lukic, prime minister of the Serbian Republic [of Bosnia-Hercegovina], was held in Belgrade today, during which they discussed the measures taken following the abduction of a group of citizens from a train travelling between Belgrade and Bar.

Both prime ministers concluded that the act represents an attack on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Serbian Republic and at the same time an attack on the Serbian people and vital interests in the Serbian Republic, and that in only serves the enemy of the Serbian people. Serbian Prime Minister Sainovic expressed the great dissatisfaction of the citizens of the Republic of Serbia with the fact that the abducted passengers have not yet been found and returned and the perpetrators of this act brought to justice.

The energetic demand of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and the Serbian Government that the abducted citizens be immediately found and returned was also expressed.

Vladimir Lukic, prime minister of the Government of the Serbian Republic, said that in addition to the measures already taken, the government, members of the internal affairs offices, and the army of the Serbian Republic will take additional, most energetic measures for the abducted citizens to be found and returned, the perpetrators of this criminal act punished, and peace and safety of citizens in the border regions restored.

Foreign Minister Assesses Bosnian Crisis

AU0703212693 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 7 Mar 93

[Interview with Vladislav Jovanovic, deputy prime minister and foreign minister of Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, by Tatjana Lenard; place not given—live]

[Text] [Lenard] Our guest tonight is Vladislav Jovanovic, foreign minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Mr. Minister, we congratulate you on your election. Could you first of all tell us what the priorities of Yugoslav foreign policy are?

[Jovanovic] The answer can be found in the government platform which Prime Minister Kontic presented in the Assembly a few days ago. Let us recall, these are the problems that this country has been facing for some time, above all, maximum effort for the fastest possible establishment of peace, a just and lasting peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the entire territory of the former SFRY. The lifting of the sanctions is also an urgent task. These sanctions have been unjustly affecting the entire country for 10 months, not just the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia but also some 600,000 or 700,000 residents of the former Bosnia-Hercegovina who are here as refugees. One of these tasks is also the normalization of Yugoslavia's status in international life

and international organizations, and finally, the reintegration of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in international life as an equal member, a member freed of all burdens and unjust condemnation.

We have already taken some steps in this direction, and the days ahead, not to speak of the weeks ahead, will show even greater and more visible confirmation of this.

[Lenard] The second round of negotiations on Bosnia-Hercegovina has just ended in New York. The three sides have not reached agreement on the Geneva document again. What is your view of this?

[Jovanovic] The word again is not a big word when it come to a process of solving what is probably the most complex problem that emerged in Europe after the end of the Cold War. After, or rather at the end of such a terrible civil and religious war, one cannot envision its end by just lifting a magic wand. What has been achieved at the Geneva conference so far deserves full attention and recognition.

Let us recall, an agreement has been reached on the principles on the basis of which the general situation will be resolved. Then, the so-called military agreement has also been signed. What is left is the work on the maps. This has always been the most sensitive and complex issue and the temporary interruption in talks in New York should not, in my view, be overly dramatized, particularly not as a danger to the process or the elimination of chances to the Geneva conference to achieve final success in this respect.

Finally, this stems from the answer which the heads of the two communities gave, Dr. Karadzic [Serbian republic of Bosnia president] and Mr. Izetbegovic [Bosnian president], that they will soon return to conclude this business. In any case, let us go back to what the conclusion of the Geneva conference was during the adoption of these nine principles, and to something that is the most important thing in the peace initiative of President Clinton, namely that an agreement on the Bosnia crisis, which means the end of war and the general political settlement of all aspects of the crisis, will only be possible if all three constituent communities freely agree on that, and especially if during this process no solution was imposed from outside. It is important to mention this, because resorting to force, imposing solutions, or giving ultimatums to any of the participants can endanger the very basis of the talks.

[Lenard] The negotiations have not yielded results in Geneva. In other words, Croatia has not yet been punished for its aggression against the Republic of Serbian Krajina.

[Jovanovic] This is a result of excesses in forgiving Croatia. Croatia has been pardoned for its aggression, for its invasion, and annexation of a considerable part of the former Bosnia-Hercegovina. Croatia still has some 50,000-60,000 regular soldiers in that republic and is not complying with the ultimatum expressed in Security Council Resolution 752 on the unconditional withdrawal of troops from Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Croatia repeated this aggression with the military invasion of the Bosnian Krajina, the territory that enjoys full protection of the international organization, and is still rejecting the same kind of demand, equally clearly expressed in Resolution 802. If this continues, this could only represent a very unpleasant confirmation of the fact that the international community and the international organization are not abandoning a double standard in their attempts to solve the Yugoslav crisis.

[Lenard] At the same time Yugoslavia is being threatened with new sanctions. What does the United States want in the Balkans?

[Jovanovic] Let us differentiate between what the United States was yesterday and what it is today. We are approaching the new U.S. Administration with full trust and rightly expect it not to be the slave to the previous positions accumulated in a file called the Yugoslav crisis, but to inform itself first hand and more completely on all aspects so that the peace policy to which it has pledged itself, and which we highly appreciate, could yield correct results.

We highly appreciate President Clinton's peace initiative, and above all his major step toward recognizing the full equality of the three constituent peoples and the condemnation of all attempts to impose solutions from outside. In this respect the new U.S. Administration has gone further than, say, the EC, which has never distinguished itself with that kind of respect for the negotiators in their efforts to reach an agreement. Similarly, we can see a return to the ideas of tightening the sanctions, or even maintaining the sanctions, as an anachronism, which obviously does not correspond to the facts. It does not correspond to the fact that, for example, all important parties involved in the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis, including President Clinton, have officially accepted and recognized that Bosnia is experiencing a civil war and not outside aggression from the direction of Yugoslavia, and that the three warring sides have been invited to find an agreement on ending war and finding peace.

Finally, the contribution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the efforts and progress made at the Geneva Conference with regard to Bosnia has been noted by the international community and positively assessed. Any insistence on sanctions would be an anachronism and absurd.

I personally think that this is more tactical than the real intention by the U.S. Administration to use this impossible measure. On the other hand, this is also some kind of debt that the United States owes to those parties that are exerting and will continue to exert strong pressure to choose war over the peace option.

As we know, President Clinton has decidedly rejected the option of war and has decided in favor of the peace option, for which he received praise throughout the international community.

[Lenard] In case the United States insists on the sanctions, how do you think Russia will react?

[Jovanovic] If it did, this would have to be due only to tactical reasons. Russia's position would have to be seen in the context of what President Yeltsin said a few weeks ago, when he indicated, even stated clearly, that in the settlement of the main international issues, above all the issues concerning peace and security, Russia does not want to be an object, but a partner, a participant. The Yugoslav crisis was mentioned in this context. I do not think that Russia would decide to go back and have a passive attitude toward the creation and realization of, say, U.S. policy in our region. It is more likely that Russia will try to promote its image or profile in our region as much as possible, and that its views will have increasing influence on the views of the United States.

[Lenard] Finally, one personal question. How does it feel to be a minister for the fourth time? Do the personnel changes in the leadership of our diplomatic service mean changes in Yugoslavia's foreign policy?

[Jovanovic] By the fourth time you meant this shifting between the republic and the federation. You know, personnel changes do not mean as much in politics as do the sum of other circumstances. In this particular case, the sum of the circumstances is favorable regarding the expectations that our foreign policy will be more dynamic, energetic, fuller, and, I believe, successful than in the past. The reason for this is the removal of obstacles and misunderstandings between the federation and the republics and the fact that we are now in the position to conduct a unified and energetic foreign policy that will be supported and implemented on an equal basis by the republics and the federal organs.

In this context I could say that my department in this government will have wider possibilities, and, I would say, wider authorities than was the case in the past situations.

[Lenard] Thank you, Mr. Minister.

[Jovanovic] Thank you.

Seselj's Ethnic Origin Called Into Question

Controversy Discussed

93BA0657A Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 19 Feb 93 p 9

[Commentary by Petar Ignja: "Devil's Apprentice"]

[Text] When Vojislav Seselj opened the Pandora's box of nationalistic evil with a sudden motion of his hand, he had no idea that he himself would become a victim of the satanic spirit that hovers over our heads. Many people enthusiastically accepted his theories about pure Serbs, about a nation of one blood and faith. Some out of ignorance, some out of a flush of excitement, but the consequences are equally tragic: At the end of the 20th century, in a part of Europe, nationality has begun to be judged on the basis of "blood purity," of surname, of religion, of tribal rules, and not on the basis of the laws of contemporary science relating to society and of the personal feelings and self-identification of free people.

More about that later; let us first see what sort of national misfortune has befallen Seselj.

In early February, NOVI VJESNIK in Zagreb published an interview with a certain Ante Seselj from Split, a Croat and Roman Catholic, who explained in detail his connection with Vojislav Seselj. He says that according to the memoirs of the late parish priest in Opuzen, Don Josip Babic, the Seselj family lived in Popovo Polje, Hercegovina, and that it moved during the first half of the 18th century from that area to the village of Podgradina, which today has been urbanized and joined with Opuzen (the reader notes how much detail is provided in the search for Vojislav's origins). At some point, three Seselj families emerged—Grgo, Blaze, and Filip—while today there are 20 of them. Naturally, all of them are Croats and Roman Catholics.

So now—the newspaper asks—how is it that out of this primordial Croatian and Roman Catholic environment "there emerged the Chetnik duke Vojislav, Orthodox in religion"? Ante's answer is provided immediately: An ancestor of Vojislav who came from Orahov Do, at the very edge of Popovo Polje, not far from Ston, agreed to work on an estate of the Orthodox Church, and since receiving land to cultivate depended on one's religion, this Seselj did what went without saying: "He abandoned his Croatian and Roman Catholic roots" and converted to the Orthodox faith and to Serbhood.

The leader of the Serbian Radical Party, Vojislav Seselj, has rejected the "accusation" of his Croatian namesake, arguing in fact that everything happened the opposite way and that the present-day Ante Seselj, a Croat and Roman Catholic, is actually a Serb. If we bear in mind all the theories of our Seselj, a Serb and Orthodox (as far as I am concerned, there is no dilemma here; a person is what he himself says he is, and no one has the right to decide what nation he belongs to by digging up his ancestors' bones), then he had no alternative. It is too late for him now to say that tribal tales about the nation are outdated, that life, in all its aspects, negates them. The moment when Vojislav Seselj dared to proclaim the existence of dubious Serbs (based on nationality and origin), he was forced to play this game a little longer, and no one knows what will come next.

It is interesting that those who "defend" Seselj have already responded, voluntarily. With the same words and in the same manner. Now they too are saying, as if they were personally Seselj's ancestors, that this Ante, from Split, is actually a Serb. No one has put forward the

theory, the only one that is politically, socially, and scientifically accurate, that nations are not born in the cradle. Individuals are born in the cradle. At the moment when they come into the world, I contend (from experience) that their national awareness is very undeveloped.

Exactly 111 years ago, the French writer, historian, and philosopher Ernest Renan held a lecture at the Sorbonne in Paris in which he attempted to answer the question, "What is the nation?" He tried to do so descriptively, saying that the nation is the soul, the spiritual principle. Two things that merge into one "make up this soul, this spiritual principle—one is in the past, the other in the present, one is the joint possession of the rich legacy of memory, the other is the present-day agreement and desire to live together." This esteemed Frenchman did not discard the past, far from it, but he also showed clearly that the nation is made up of the present as well. Perhaps it is made up of the present most of all. His opinion that nations are not eternal, that one day (first in Europe) they would cease to exist, and that they would be replaced by a European confederation was greeted with astonishment at the time.

Serbs, here and now, especially those Serbs who say publicly that they are nationalists and who have turned their nationality into a profession (with due respect for those who are currently fighting for the rights of the Serbian nation, especially the right to live)—these Serbs can disagree with Renan, they can push him aside, but the truth is inexorable. Our nationalities cannot understand how to be right tomorrow, meaning how to recognize the outdatedness of opinions today. The tribal consciousness had its time, when Serbs lived in tribes or clans. And our nation was among the last in Europe to live in clans, because that was historically conditioned—by Turkish rule. It was hard for European civilization to penetrate our hills and mountains. But is that not the distant past? Well, the consequences of an undeveloped civilization last for a long time, but in that case does it make sense for educated people, doctors of science, and party leaders to revitalize the outdated tribal awareness instead of civilizing it?! The nation [narod] was a community of relatives, those who descended from the same ancestors, but the nation [nacija] is a new historic category.

It is impossible to avoid the truth that today the Americans, the Swiss, the Austrians, the Argentines, the Mexicans... and whoever else are serious nations, and that the idea that they are brothers in terms of religion, blood, or language is absurd. That is why the Austrians are not Germans (any more).

It hurts me when I sense that I am beginning to annoy the reader, who is completely innocent. But I must say this as well: The capitalistic manner of production, which has lifted the economic interest to the heavens, and the formation of legally free individuals have accelerated the processes of the emergence of nations. In our country, there has always been little capitalism, so that our people have a hard time understanding that the nation is not made up only of brothers in terms of blood and religion. Because a nation emerges—and this is its essential attribute—whenever the people become the holder of sovereignty, whenever they become a political factor, whenever they have a national interest (economic, cultural...) in their own state, whenever they can effect all this in their own parliament, as free citizens of their own nation.

Any person who finds himself in a nation has the right to adopt that national name. Thus, Vojislav Seselj is a Serb, and Ante Seselj is a Croat.

Concerning oneself with surnames and the national composition of blood is ridiculous, but also dangerous. History shows that this leads to racial theories and to racism (fascism, Nazism). Racial theories produce the loss of many innocent lives and are erroneous, because the societal characteristics of people are determined by their sociohistoric development, not by biological development.

Our Gobineaus and Rosenbergs have no moral right to exploit the social misfortune of the majority of our people, playing with their destinies. We have had opportunities to see an "Inferno, a Game of People of Our Time" ("Inferno, ein Spiel von Menschen unserer Zeit").

Seselj's Defense

93BA0657C Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 19 Feb 93 pp 18-19

[Interview with Serbian Radical Party head Vojislav Seselj by Bogdan Ivanisevic; place and date not given: "Who Are You, Mr. Seselj? My Ancestor Seho"]

[Text] "'I am a Serb!' That thought made him feel like taking wing...." (Alija Jugovic in the novel *Noz [The Knife]* by Vuk Draskovic)

Regarding the frequent suspicions that his origins are not completely Serbian, the leader of the SRS [Serbian Radical Party] confided in our journalist, Bogdan Ivanisevic.

[Ivanisevic] How do you explain the amount of attention given to the statement by Ante Seselj of Split about your Croatian origin?

[Seselj] You as a Serbian Ivanisevic know that there are also Croat Ivanisevics. You also know that these Croats are Catholicized Serbs. Over the ages, our nation has been confronted with attempts at Islamization and Catholicization, and in this way a lot of the Serbian genetic essence has flowed into the Croatian national corpus, or has been Muslimized.

My political adversaries are unable to defeat me through political means, which is why they are using slander. They have fabricated the story that I am a homosexual, they have declared me Slovene, and then Albanian (that was first circulated by Zoran Petrovic Pirocanac, and continued by BALKAN-EKSPRES), and now Croat.

This time, the campaign is well-orchestrated. It is being led by Minister Momcilo Grubac.

[Ivanisevic] Does this "campaign" suit the ruling party?

[Seselj] The ruling party is suited by anything that could weaken the SRS. But I have no indication whatsoever that the ruling party is participating in the campaign.

[Ivanisevic] What is your ethnic origin, then?

[Seselj] Fifteen years ago, the book *Rovci i Rovcani [The People of Rovca]* came out—I do not remember the author's name—which showed that the Seseljs are originally from Rovca, Montenegro. From that place, my ancestors moved several centuries ago to the Niksic area. Their last name was Milobratovic. Indeed, all of us who are originally from Rovca celebrate the patron's day of St. Luke.

The Seseljs and Seslijas come from the Milobratovics. The Seseljs moved to Popovo Polje, the town of Strujici near Do (at the top of Popovo Polje), while the Seslijas went to Bileca. The Seseljs and Seslijas got their last name from their common ancestor Seho (I do not know whether that was his nickname or first name), one of 10 Milobratovic brothers. One of the brothers moved to Russia, and it is said that seven of his descendants were later generals.

Three Seselj brothers came to Popovo Polje—Nikola, Petar, and Risto. Nikola, my direct ancestor, then moved to Mareva Ljuta, in the central part of Popovo Polje. Risto remained in Strujici, at the top of Popovo Polje. That area was part of Turkey. Petar, however, moved to Opuzen, near Metkovic, which was then part of Austria-Hungary. Petar and his descendants converted to Catholicism more than 200 years ago, during the reign of Maria Theresa and her successor, Joseph II.

Until very recently, the Seseljs from Opuzen celebrated the patron's day of St. Luke. Some of them moved to Zagreb, some to Zadar, some to Split. Our family ties were mostly broken off more than 200 years ago.

Nikola Seselj married in Mareva Ljuta. He had three sons: Sava, Risto, and Djura. Sava, my great-grandfather, also had three sons (I am not mentioning female descendants because that is not important in this context). Vojislav, one of Sava's sons, was my grandfather. The Ustashi killed him in 1941.

Vojislav also had three sons—Nikola, Jovan, and Sava. Nikola is my father.

My mother is from the Misit family, one of the oldest families in Popovo Polje. All the members of that family were Serbs. As far as I know, not a single Misit has ever converted to Catholicism or Islam.

My mother is from Boban, the village of Kijev Do. Our family home is more than 500 years old, the oldest in the village. It is known for the fact that its oldest part is not constructed with mortar, but rather with stone blocks carved so as to fit together. The patron's day in my mother's family is Mratindan.

Anyway, there is no memory of any case in Hercegovina where Catholics converted to the Orthodox religion. The process was always the reverse. There are Catholicized Serbs living all over western Hercegovina. There are still many villages with old churches with the alter facing the east, which proves that they were once Orthodox.

In his day, Tsar Dusan sold part of the coast to Dubrovnik—including Ston and Peljesac—and there the people of Dubrovnik Catholicized the formerly Serbian population. Old Serbian graves with Cyrillic inscriptions can still be found in Peljesac. The custom of Catholics celebrating a patron's day has been preserved in Konavla, which is the best proof of their Orthodox origin.

In almost every generation, some of my ancestors moved to Russia and joined the military. Hence the tradition of the seven generals—the descendants of Milobratovic. Perhaps they were actually lower-ranking officers, but when the story is handed down from generation to generation they all end up as generals.

[Ivanisevic] Would it change the essence of things if your close or distant ancestors were not Serbs?

[Seselj] We can discuss that on a hypothetical basis. In any case, it would be hard for me if my ancestors were, say, Croat or Albanian. I personally feel sorry for every respectable and honorable Croat, because it is the hardest on that sort of person when he knows that he belongs to a genocidal and criminal nation.

Macedonia

Sabotage 'Ruled Out' in Crash of Plane Near Skopje

LD0603001393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2352 GMT 5 Mar 93

[Text] Skopje, March 5 (TANJUG)—A total of 79 persons were killed and 18 injured when a "Fokker 100" plane crashed Friday [5 March] around noon immediately after take-off from the airport in Skopje, capital of the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia.

A Macedonia's Interior Ministry statement described late Friday night the state of several injured passengers as critical.

The twin-turbofan plane was the property of the Skopje-based air company "Palair Macedonien".

The plane caught fire, exploded and crashed immediately on taking off from Skopje's Petrovec airport.

According to the official figures, the Zurich-bound plane carried 97 passengers and 6 crew members.

Macedonian police said most of the passengers were from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, i.e., from the Serbian Kosovo and Metohija Province.

Macedonian police spokesman ruled out the possibility of sabotage.

The plane has several hours previously come from Frankfurt.

Gligorov Criticized for Recognizing Bulgarian Holiday

AU0703155593 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Mar 93

[Text] The Skopje newspaper NOVA MAKEDONIJA is reproaching Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov for sending greetings to Bulgarian President Zhelev on 3 March, the national day of Bulgaria.

The paper writes that Bulgaria is celebrating 3 March because the St. Stefan Agreement was signed on that day in 1878. In other words, this is the day when the so-called greater Bulgaria, with the hope of incorporating Macedonia within its borders, was proclaimed. Bulgaria bases its right to Macedonia on this agreement signed between czarist Russia and the Ottoman Empire.

Montenegro

Parliament Approves Djukanovic Cabinet List

LD0503231193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2129 GMT 5 Mar 93

[Text] Podgorica, 29 Mar (TANJUG)—A new, first-time mutiparty government was elected in Montenegro today following the approval by the Republican Parliament of the list of candidates for the cabinet proposed by Prime Minister Designate Milo Djukanovic.

The cabinet, apart from representatives of the ruling Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS) includes representatives of the People's Party of Montenegro (NSCG), the Liberal Alliance of Montenegro (LSCG), Social Democratic Party of Reformists (SDPR) and two members not belonging to any of the parties.

The deputy prime ministers in Djukanovic's cabinet are Zoran Zizic, Mihailo Ljesar, Rade Perovic, and Krunoslav Vukcevic, while ministers without portfolio are Miladin Vukotic, Najludin Nuhodzic, and Ranko Kadic.

Nikola Pejanovic is a new minister of internal affairs;

Miodrag Lekic—minister of foreign affairs;

Bozidar Gazivoda—minister of finance;

Predrag Obradovic—minister of education and science;

Filip Vujanovic—minister of justice;

Gojko Celebic—minister of culture;

Miodrag Gomilanovic—minister of industry, energy, and mining;

Jusuf Kalomperovic—minister of maritime affairs;

Branko Abramovic—minister of agriculture;

Dragan Milic—minister of Tourism;

Dusko Lalicevic—minister of trade;

Miodrag Burzan—minister of urban planning;

Miomir Mugosa—minister of health;

Vukic Pulevic—minister of the environment;

Milivoje Jaukovic—minister of labor and social policy;

Slobodan Tomovic—minister of religion;

Bozidar Ivanovic—minister of sports.

Premier Djukanovic will carry out the duty of defense minister until a federal law on defense is passed which will create conditions for a single post at the federal level. [Passage omitted]

Kosovo

Two Wounded, One Suspected Killed on Albanian Border

AU0503132293 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT Nr.44 in English 5 Mar 93

[Unattributed report: "Two Citizens of Albania Wounded by the Serbian Border Guards"]

[Text] As reported, on 1 March 1993, around 2300 hours, two Albanian citizens, Mentor Dogjani (20) and Sadik Dogjani (15), were wounded by the Serbian border guards at the Albanian-Kosovo borderland. The two youngsters, who were hospitalized the next day in the Surgical Clinic in Pristina, were reported to come from Kukes, a town near the Albanian-Kosovo Border.

Mentor Dogjani and Sadik Dogjani said they were shot at even though they were unarmed. They also added that a compatriot of theirs might have been shot dead on the spot.

Yesterday, the two Albanian citizens were transferred to some other medical center in Kosovo.

No statement whatsoever on this case was issued by the Serbian officials so far. In the recent months, several citizens from Albania were shot dead by the Serbian military at the Albania-Kosovo border.

Army Allegedly Increases Local Presence

AU0303133193 Pristina KOSOVO DAILY REPORT Nr.42 in English 0836 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Unattributed report: "Serbia Intensifies Its Military Activities in Kosovo"]

[Text] Pristina, 2 Mar—The Serbian military buildup in the recent months was concentrated mainly along the Kosovo-Albanian border. Yesterday, artillery and infantry troops, were reported throughout Kosovo. Tank units, accompanied by infantry, left yesterday from the military barracks in Mitrovica heading towards Skenderaj. As reported, these units were stationed at the location called Kralica, near Polac village, and at the Prellovc village near the Cicavica mountains. Also, from the Sllatina military base, a convoy of some 30 tanks and other armored vehicles headed towards Komoran-Gllogovc-Skenderaj. Eventually the convoy was deployed at Golesh. During their march along the streets the military provoked citizens and local residents, pointing their guns and barrels of tanks at them.

Yesterday, around 8:45 a.m., at Krivova, between Slatina and Komaran, the military convoy threatened people in their cars. Thus, a tank out of the convoy and crushed at a car belonging to Badri Thaci from the Llapushnik village. [sentence as received] He and four cotravelers were almost killed in the crushed car.

It has reported that a tank convoy coming back from Gllabar missed its destination and was resettled at the Golesh mountains in the vicinity of Pristina.

Yesterday, at around 10:30 a.m., a convoy of six tanks and four armored vehicles of the Serbian military left Gazimestan, near Pristina, reaching the Kodra e Trimave quarter of Pristina fifteen minutes later. They too provoked local residents by pointing their guns at them. The convoy then marched along the Pristina streets.

Today, around noon, a motorized convoy of the Serbian military, an armored vehicle, four armored personnel carriers, and a military jeep, with some 20 soldiers paraded through the villages of Dydesh, Orroberde, Vrelle, Cerce, and the town of Istog.

It has been reported that the situation in the town of Skenderaj is very tense today. The Serbian police has been checking all people found in the streets and the key-points of the town.

Albanians Concerned About 'Quiet Ethnic Cleansing'

AU0303132893 Pristina KOSOVO DAILY REPORT Nr.41 in English 0836 GMT 3 Mar 93

["An Editorial of Kosovo Information Center: A Quiet Ethnic Cleansing of Kosovo Under Way"]

[Text] Pristina, 1 March—The Serbian authorities have been continuing their campaign of the ethnic cleansing of Kosovo. Following an uninterrupted military-police terror, the political platform approved by the Serbian Parliament in 1990 for a recolonization and changing the ethnic structure in favor of Serbs is being implemented in a quiet form. Albanians are being threatened and maltreated. Through the use of most severe forms of terror and persecution, the Serbian rule is compelling them to leave their country and seek shelter or refuge in Western European countries.

The Serbian authorities have been issuing recruitment summons to the young Albanians to turn in the Serbian Army. They are persecuted and forced to flee, in order to avoid consequences. In the past, Albanians serving in the Yugoslav Army were usually taken at the first fighting lines in Croatia, while their imprisonment through framed political trials in the 80's became a means for their unmerciful persecution. Today, those that do not respond to the summons face trials in absence, so that none of those wanted by the authorities dares come back to Kosovo.

The ethnic cleansing has been especially incited during this winter by a "white terror" in the western parts of Kosovo, such as Peja, Gjakova, Decan, Klina and Istog. In a campaign reminiscent of the 50's, under the pretext of arms searches, police expeditions search Albanian homes and beat up Albanians. This campaign aims at increasing tensions and creating an atmosphere of fear and insecurity at a time when political persecution against Albanian political activists also increases.

Along the physical terror, the Serbian police state has also been very active in firing from work the remaining Albanians, in plundering property and closing down private shops and firms owned by Albanians. Last week in Pristina, the Abdullahu family firm was confiscated 35,000 DM in goods alone.

The Serbian paramilitary groups as part of military-police forces act openly and in various forms. One of their leaders, Arkan has taken seat in Pristina and has been engaged in open threats against the Albanians.

At at a time when as a consequence of such pressure Albanians are leaving Kosovo, causing a problem for European countries too, Serbian refugees have been brought into Kosovo from Croatia and Bosnia, making the recolonization process smooth and quiet. So far, Serbian authorities acknowledged that over 7,000 Serbs have been settled. Today, the Serbian daily press reported that in Kacanik, populated by Albanians, a settlement for the Serb refugees is to be built. Thus, a humanitarian activity of international concern is being misused by the Serbian authorities.

For colonization aims, as the settlement, as reported, will be built by the funding back up of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees. The high commissioner, in the meantime shows no concern whatsoever for Albanians leaving Kosovo to become refugees in other countries.

Under such circumstances, when a quiet ethnic cleansing of Kosovo is under way, the Serbian authorities have suggested a census be carried out in Kosovo. They are convinced that so far some 400,000 Albanians have already left Kosovo, as that is the number of issued passports. But, many Western European countries have announced the return of Albanian refugees to Kosovo.

Albanian Leader Denounces Milosevic, Kontic

LD0503151093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1307 GMT 5 Mar 93

[Text] Pristina, 5 Mar (TANJUG)—The abolition of the law on the suspension of work of the Kosovo Assembly and its bodies on the part of the Republic of Serbia does not have any value, Fehmi Agani, vice chairman of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, stated in Pristina today.

Agani said at a news conference that the adoption of that law was "anticonstitutional and illegal."

Agani described as "infeasible" the announcement that elections for the Kosovo Assembly will be held and thus the assembly reconstituted, about which Slobodan Milosevic, as Agani said, spoke in Geneva, and if "that assembly should be like the Vojvodina Assembly, then it would also be undemocratic," Agani noted.

Vice Chairman Agani said that Kosovo can have new elections, but only, as he put it, "in the context of determining its independence."

The Democratic Alliance of Kosovo condemns Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic for not mentioning Kosovo in a single time in his address to the deputies of the Federal Assembly, Agani said and assessed this fact as "a guilty conscience because of accumulated problems which this government will not know how to solve."

Albanian Leader Praises U.S., Denounces Serbs

AU0603152693 Pristina KOSOVO DAILY REPORT Nr.45 in English 5 Mar 93

[Unattributed report: "Press Conference of the LDK"—issued by the Democratic League of Kosovo]

[Text] Speaking at a regular press conference of the LDK [Democratic League of Kosovo] held on Friday [5 March] in Pristina, Dr. Fehmi Agani, vice-president, hailed the warning of the US President Bill Clinton to Belgrade authorities concerning Kosovo, stating that this is an encouragement and guarantee that armed conflicts will not spill over to Kosovo.

Dr. Agani hailed also the stance of the Christian Democratic International on the right to self-determination for the Albanians living in former Yugoslavia.

The LDK vice-president condemned the Serbian atrocities in Kosovo, adding that arms searches, beatings, maltreatments and summons to the so-called 'informative conversation' have been continuing unabated over the last week.

Dr. Agani went on underscoring the prosecution of young Albanians who refuse to serve in the Serbian army which has waged a war of aggression and hegemony.

The LDK vice-president spoke today of a new mode of Serbian presence in Kosovo, besides repression and oppression: this is an "overt/legal plundering" of Kosovo property and assets through the controversial institution of "Dafiment Bank", run by a pro-Milosevic and Arkan banker, Mrs. Dafina Milanovic. Dr. Agani said that Mrs. Milanovic's intention is to benefit in Kosovo by setting up subsidiaries of her bank in the towns of Kosovo in Kosovo state-owned buildings, appropriated through political transactions, namely without due compensation. Dr. Fehmi Agani warned that the Government of the Republic of Kosovo has announced its decision stipulating that no misappropriation and alienation of the Kosovo property, in an attempt of Serbia to sell what it is not entitled to sell, will be recognized.

Answering to a question concerning the Serbian announcement on trials against the Albanian youth who have rejected to serve Serbian military, Dr. Agani said the threat itself of a trial is aimed at putting pressure on young Albanians, and making them flee Kosovo.

Studies Resume at Pristina University

AU0303133093 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT Nr.42 in English 0836 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Unattributed report: "Studies at the University of Pristina Resume"]

[Text] Pristina, 2 Mar—The second term of the 1992-93 academic year at the University of Pristina began yesterday. Although outside University premises following the Serbian crack-down in 1991 on the educational system and University, classes are attended regularly by Albanian students at private premises in the capital of Kosovo and other centers.

UN Refugee Commission Opens Pristina Mission

AU0703115793 Paris AFP in English 1140 GMT 7 Mar 93

[Excerpt] Pristina, Yugoslavia, March 7 (AFP) - The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) has opened a mission in the capital of Serbia's Kosovo Province where an outburst of violence is feared between the ethnic Albanian majority and Serbian rulers.

The head of the mission, Bjoern Wakman, a Swede, told AFP that he would be dealing with Albanians who are trying to emigrate from Kosovo.

He said he would also be monitoring Sandzak, a Moslem-majority region in Serbia where thousands of refugees from the war in neighbouring Bosnia-Hercegovina have arrived. [passage omitted]